A Corpus-based Contrastive Analysis of Directive Speech Act Verbs in English and Chinese Legislative Texts

Wujian Han

BA (BIFT), MA (USYD, MQ)

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2017

Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Human Sciences,

Macquarie University

Sydney, Australia

STATEMENT OF CANDIDATE

I, Wujian Han, declare that this work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution and all usage of sources has been duly referenced.

I certify that the information contained in this dissertation is the result of research work conducted under the supervision of Associate Professor Ilija Casule, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Human Sciences, Macquarie University.

I certify that to the best of my knowledge all sources used and any help received in producing this dissertation have been acknowledged.

Wujian Han

Date: August 31, 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I feel immense gratitude to my principal supervisor Associate Professor Ilija Casule, who also supervised my Master's thesis at Macquarie University in 2011. Professor Casule's critical thinking, and aspirational, thoughtful and in-depth feedback have greatly benefited my research experience and set me on the right path for my PhD study. His expertise, kindness, patience and understanding have been instrumental to the completion of this thesis.

I would also like to thank my associate supervisor Dr. Zhongwei Song for his wonderful guidance and helpful research advice. Dr. Song's indispensable support, encouragement, generosity and modesty have enlightened me throughout my candidature and will continue to benefit my personal growth for the rest of my life.

I would like to thank Dr. Haidee Kruger who has helped me with my inquiries regarding corpus linguistics. Her meticulous comments on my corpus are particularly helpful. I would also like to thank the staff members of the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie University, Ms. Collette Ryan and Ms. Margaret Wood for their great assistance. I am grateful to Macquarie University for the training and support provided during my candidature.

Special thanks go to my fellow Dr. Alexandra Grey, who has done excellent proof-reading and copy-editing for my thesis and helped to improve the quality of the thesis. She is smart, perspicacious, kind, sporty, pretty and over all amazing. Her professional and constructive feedback on my thesis has been of great help to me at the last stage of my PhD study.

I am also grateful to my many fellow PhD candidates at Macquarie University for their support and company: Dr. Jia Li, Dr. Mahmud Hasan Khan, Agnes Bodis, Dr. Xi Li and Bophan Khan. We had the pleasure of sharing ambitions and difficulties of our PhD study. I am also indebted to my friends who have constantly supported and encouraged me, in particular Sayaka Konami, Rui Zhao, Ju Shen, Elain Liu, Wen Yan, Zhenyi Zhao and Wenjuan Wang.

I am deeply grateful to my parents and parents-in-law. Their physical and emotional support were invaluable in enabling me to persist this seemingly impossible task. This thesis is particularly important and meaningful to my father Xiong Han. Without his encouragement and belief in my ability, I would not have undertaken this PhD research and have not been able to complete it.

Above all, I must acknowledge my dear husband Allen for his love, caring, understanding, encouragement, compassion and continued support. He is such a great husband and a wonderful father, and I am so grateful for having him by my side throughout my PhD journey. My lovely daughter Blair and my son Blake who was born in 2015 when I was undertaking this research have always been my inspiration.

ABSTRACT

Directive speech act verbs (SAVs) constitute one of the most important areas of the vocabulary of any language and are of great significance for building the theory of human linguistic behaviour. Directive SAVs are considered highly conventionalized and genre-specific, and are prominent in legislative texts to impose obligations (Danet, 1980). The theoretical value and practical significance of such everyday built-in metalanguage have long been recognized. However, studies focusing on English and Chinese directive SAVs are very rare, particularly in the legal genre.

Therefore, this study investigates the uses of a group of commonly-used, synonymous English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative texts. It proposes a unique theoretical approach that extends the corpus-linguistic framework to compare and contrast the semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in depth. To retrieve reliable information on their use, a comparable corpus consisting of original legislative texts in English and Chinese, and a parallel corpus consisting of Chinese legislative texts as source texts and their translations in English, were established.

The contrastive analysis of a large quantity of empirical corpus data uncovers similarities and differences in the distinctive usage of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative texts; it reveals that semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of directive SAVs are closely related, and also that semantic meaning can provide information about syntactic pattern, and vice versa. This study concludes that the valency sentence patterns of the Chinese SAVs, to a large extent, govern the choice of the English translation equivalents as well as their valency patterns. Methodologically, this study demonstrates that comparable and parallel corpora can be exploited fruitfully in contrastive linguistics and corpus-linguistic approaches, and that a contrastive approach can advance the field of translation studies between English and Chinese. It is hoped that this study will be of value and interest to translators and students of language, and offer new insights into the descriptive potential of the corpus-linguistic approach to contrastive lexical semantics and syntax.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Speech act verbs (SAVs) are language-specific labels that are offered by each language to describe the categorization of the universe of speech acts and to perceive culturally-specific human interaction and human relationships (Wierzbicka, 1987). SAVs are extensively used to perform actions or to describe types of speech acts that are being performed, as presented in the phrases 'I order you …' 'I apologize …' 'I promise …', or to interpret the type of speech acts of other people's utterance, as in the phrases 'the president predicts …' 'my teacher suggests …' 'they refused …'. Therefore, SAVs are considered to be one of the most active component and the main linguistic means for information transmission in the process of human interaction and communication (Zhong, 2004).

Directive SAVs have been proposed as one of the most important types of SAVs and constitute one of the most important areas of the vocabulary of any language. A directive SAV carries out the directive speech act named by it and makes explicit the type of directive speech act that is being performed by uttering it in an appropriate context of use. According to Searle (1962), directive speech acts are attempts to get the addressee to do something. The utterance of certain directive SAVs by certain persons in certain circumstances can constitute the performance of an act of getting someone to do something. Our public and private lives consist largely of directive speech acts, as people are performing various directive speech acts from morning to night such as asking, ordering, directing, warning, instructing, requiring, requesting, suggesting and so on.

Notably, scholars have stressed the importance of directive SAVs in legal discourse (e.g. Alcaraz & Hughes, 2002), arguing that directive SAVs are extensively used in legislation to carry out the directive speech act most prominent in legislation, imposing an obligation (Danet, 1980). The linguistic features of directive SAVs that demonstrate their performative nature are closely related to various felicity conditions, such as social convention, and cultural factors. English and Chinese

each have their own culturally-specific set of directive SAVs which are shaped by the ways in which people conceptualize phenomena in the world. The lexicalization of directive speech acts presents certain concepts as established categories of human thoughts which are no doubt culturally moulded (Fillmore, 2003). The characterizations of directive SAVs, including their meanings, syntactic patterns, styles and forms, are unavoidably influenced by a variety of cultural factors including social structure, values, perception, and cognitive development, and hence they are also culturally moulded: "such characterizations are then encoded into various layers of their language and culturally transmitted from generation to generation" (Zhang, 2004, p. 2). Moreover, the lexicon of English and Chinese directive SAVs reflects conceptualizations of human behaviours and interactions which differ across different cultures, and each passes on distinctive cultural models from generation to generation.

The great significance of directive SAVs for building up the theory of linguistic behaviour of human beings, particularly in legal discourse and in exhibiting cultural distinctiveness across languages, has long been recognized and corroborated by the vast body of literature on SAVs. However, despite an increasing volume of studies on English and Chinese SAVs, few attempts have been made to deal with the semantic and syntactic properties of directive SAVs, particularly in legal discourse. In fact, most of the previous studies have focused on the performative use of SAVs, taking a pragmatic point of view aiming at analyzing and describing various types of speech acts (e.g. Austin, 1962; Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981; Kohnen, 2008; Moessner, 2010; Searle, 1979; Taavitsainen & Jucker 2007; Vanderveken, 1990, 1991; Valkonen, 2008). While these studies are important and in them relevant aspects of research on directive SAVs are explored, they alone do not provide a complete picture of meaning construction and the conceptualizations of human action and interaction that underpin the use of these verbs.

In order to bridge this gap, this research is designed principally to examine the semantic and syntactic properties of English and Chinese directive SAVs. It will capture the possible correlation between their semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns, compare and contrast semantically similar directive SAVs within and across languages to uncover their semantic and syntactic similarities and differences, disclose divergences in the English and Chinese usages of directive

SAVs in legislative discourse, and provide explanations for such differences from different perspectives.

Undoubtedly, an insightful way to explain the manifold aspects of directive SAVs in English and Chinese is through probing more fully into their usage with recourse to the cultural specificity of the two languages and by contrasting empirical data on directive SAVs' usage in legislative texts. However, traditional and current contrastive lexical studies on English and Chinese directive SAVs are often not supported by empirical quantitative data, having been based, rather, on a handful of examples, dictionaries or researchers' introspection (e.g. Chang, 2008; Xiao, 2010; Zhong, 2008). These contrastive studies of English and Chinese directive SAVs are incomplete, due to their failure to provide either in-depth linguistic information on the syntactic patterns and frequency of use of the examined verbs in naturally occurring texts or extralinguistic information, which is also an indispensable part of the meaning of directive SAVs.

Moreover, there has been a growing tendency to base contrastive lexical studies on corpora to detect linguistic phenomena in authentic texts with the aid of computational tools. The approach of corpus linguistics is based on scientific principles and the results produced are reproducible (Zhang, 2007). Following this trend, the corpus-based contrastive analysis in this study aims to examine the meaning of a group of English and Chinese directive SAVs by looking at both linguistic and extralinguistic information in legislative contexts. Since "the behaviour of a verb is to a large extent determined by its meaning" (Levin, 1993, p. 1), significant information on the semantic meaning of a directive SAV can be revealed by observing its linguistic behaviour or usage in naturally occurring texts. Therefore, this approach to contrastive lexical studies will reveal the extent to which syntactic patterns of directive SAVs are related to their semantic meanings and will show syntactic differences – within and across the two languages – of semantically similar directive English and Chinese SAVs.

1.2 Research objectives

The overall aim of this thesis is threefold:

(1) To describe the semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns of a group of semantically similar English directive SAVs and their closest Chinese counterparts and to explore the correlation between their semantic meaning and syntactic patterns within and across the two languages.

(2) To reveal how these English and Chinese directive SAVs differ in their usage and what they share in legislative discourse within and across languages by comparing and contrasting them on the basis of their frequencies and valency sentence patterns, as observed in newly created corpora of English and Chinese legislative texts.

(3) To investigate whether the valency sentence patterns of these directive SAVs are linked to the choice of a translation equivalent in relation to legislative discourse.

The directive SAVs to be examined in this study include *order*, *command*, *demand*, *tell (to)*, *direct*, *instruct*, *require* and *prescribe* in English, and *mingling*, *xialing*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *chiling*, *heling*, *leling*, *zecheng*, *zeling*, *yaoqiu* and *guiding* in Chinese. The above eight English directive SAVs are semantically closely related to each other and are classified into one group in Wierzbicka's (1987) dictionary. All eight are widely and generally used in English and are viewed as typical directive SAVs. The above eleven Chinese directive SAVs are their possible translation equivalents, identified by using bilingual dictionaries (e.g. *Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, 2010).

Although, as discussed further in Chapter 3, all directive SAVs in English or Chinese share a general type of resource situation and are interrelated to a certain degree, the semantic relations between these verbs are very complicated. It is impossible to compare and contrast all English and Chinese directive SAVs in the current study due to the limited space. Furthermore, the comparison of SAVs that are not closely related, such as *order* and *dismiss*, *command* and *advocate*, may not throw any valuable light on their semantic and syntactic features. In contrast, it will be more interesting and meaningful to look at a group of synonymous and near-synonymous verbs. The reason that closely-related verbs are very well worth comparing is that such comparison can reflect finer distinctive semantic and syntactic differences between them, and help to capture the correlation between their semantic meaning and syntactic patterns.

The first analytical focus of this study is on the possible links between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs within each language, motivated by Wierzbicka's (1987, p. 24) claim that "a syntactic similarity is likely to reflect a similarity in meaning, so that shared syntactic patterns are likely to reflect shared semantic components". In fact, the inseparable relationship between meaning and syntactic pattern has long been proposed by other scholars too. For example, Sinclair (1991, p. 6-7) takes a similar view that "meaning can be associated with a distinctive formal patterning" and "there is ultimately no distinction between form and meaning". Hunston and Francis (2000, p. 3) also note that different meanings of a word are distinguished by their typical occurrence in different syntactic forms. Fischer (1997) has even made a stronger claim that syntactic patterns represent, convey and even create meanings. Despite a substantial number of studies about SAVs in English and other languages, only limited research has been conducted with directive SAVs as the main object of study, and so claims on the possible correlation between semantic structures and syntactic properties of directive SAVs are usually not supported by corpus evidence.

When analyzing the semantic meaning of the English and Chinese directive SAVs under investigation in this study, I will firstly decompose them into primitive or atomic units, and then compare the closely related SAVs within and across the languages. The illocutionary logic of general semantics and speech act theory will be applied to the lexical semantic analysis. To accurately capture the semantic and syntactic similarities and differences between English and Chinese directive SAVs, the valency patterns within which each examined English and Chinese directive SAV can occur are identified and compared within and across the two languages. Then a more accurate description of their usage is provided by looking closely at their genre-specific realization patterns in legislative texts, which, to a certain degree, reflect their respective cultural distinctiveness. Moreover, the quantitative information of the valency sentence patterns of Chinese directive SAVs and their English translation equivalents in the parallel corpora can disclose how Chinese directive SAVs are translated, including what the translation equivalents share with the original Chinese SAVs and how they differ from the Chinese SAVs in their use. This can provide useful insights for a more precise and accurate translation of directive SAVs between Chinese and English, particularly in legislative discourse.

1.3 Research questions

On the basis of the current literature on directive SAVs and the objectives of this research, the following research questions have been formulated.

First of all, focusing on specific valency sentence patterns which occur with individual English and Chinese directive SAVs, meaning creation associated with lexical and structural factors in sentence formation will be examined. The thesis argues that syntactic patterns can be used as effective tools to identify verb meaning. Thus, the first research question is:

- What are the differences and similarities between English and Chinese directive SAVs in their precise semantic components and syntactic complementation patterns?

For example, the research will examine whether the meaning of the verb *order* is different or the same when it occurs with a *that*-clause complement and with a noun phrase in the object position.

Secondly, one of the tasks of the present study is to test Wierzbicka's claim that shared syntactic patterns are likely to reflect shared semantic meanings. With the experience of completing *A Semantic Dictionary: English Speech Act Verbs*, Wierzbicka (1987, p. 24) confidently asserts that "strong evidence for semantic sormulae comes from syntax, and that syntactic properties of speech act verbs provide astonishingly reliable clues to their semantic structure". Once the validity of such correlations between syntax and meaning has been established, in combination with other evidence, syntactic properties can possess an inestimable heuristic value in the justification of semantic formulae (Apresjan, 1967, 1970). Thus, the second research question is:

- To what extent are the semantic meanings of English and Chinese directive SAVs linked to their valency sentence patterns within each language?

Thirdly, considering the need to understand how English and Chinese directive SAVs are used in legislative context, the frequencies of occurrences and the valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs observed in the corpora of English and Chinese

legislative texts are compared and contrasted. This will disclose differences and similarities in their usage in legislative discourse within and across languages. Thus, the third question is:

- What are the differences and similarities between English and Chinese directive SAVs in their frequencies of occurrence and in the distributions of valency sentence patterns observed in the corpora?

Fourthly, this study will investigate whether valency sentence patterns are an indicator for a chosen translation equivalent by comparing the valency sentence patterns of Chinese directive SAVs and those of their English translation equivalents in legislative discourse. Thus, the fourth question is:

- Do the English translation equivalents show similar or different valency sentence patterns from the Chinese directive SAVs?

Last but not least, based on the empirical language data in the corpora, this research aims to further explore some important semantic and syntactic issues arising in the translation between English and Chinese directive SAVs in relation to legislative discourse. In relation to the translation corpus established in this study, the study will focus on the following questions:

- What makes translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese in legal texts special and challenging?

- What happens to the illocutionary force denoted by directive SAVs when they are translated across legal, socio-political, and cultural boundaries?

- Are the patterns of the English translation equivalents largely determined by linguistic factors such as the meaning and patterns of the Chinese SAVs in the original context, or by extralinguistic factors including the authority of the speaker and relevant conventions?

To answer these questions, the research will be based not only on the analysis of legislative texts alone, but also on the factors shaping meaning constructions and interpretations including the peculiarities of historical, social-political, cultural, economic and legal contexts.

1.4 Why study directive SAVs in legislative texts

The reasons why this research probes into English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative discourse are manifold. From a linguistic perspective, directive SAVs are considered to be one of the most active components and a main means for transmitting information and expressing directive illocutionary acts in legislative provisions. Directivity is seen as "the primary illocutionary force of legislative language" (Hiltunen, 1997, p. 53). Directive speech acts can be manifested by performatives, which "typically contain a directive SAV in first person singular or plural indicative active, an object referring to the addressee and the requested act" (Kohnen, 2008, p. 298). As Cao (2007) argues, directive SAVs, seeking to get someone to do something, are particularly prominent in legislation that imposes obligations. The performative nature of directive SAVs is indispensable to law to obtain legal effects and legal consequences. In other words, law depends upon the performative nature of directive SAVs to obtain legal effects and legal consequences.

Moreover, Trosborg's (1991, p. 65) study which centres on regulative and constitutive functions of the language of the law and the realization patterns of directive acts finds that the language of the law characteristically selects patterns of directives which differ in their level of directness from the patterns typically selected in everyday conversational English: these different patterns are, to a large degree, reflected in the usage of directive SAVs.

Despite the importance of directive SAVs in human interaction and communication in legal discourse, we have, as yet, limited knowledge about their linguistic features and usage in legal contexts, as no study has touched on the usage of directive SAVs in legislative texts. This is particularly true in relation to Chinese legal discourse. Furthermore, legislative texts – probably more than other text types – are worth studying since they describe a special type of linguistic and social activity and are given unique integrity which is rarely found in other disciplinary or professional genres of text. It is expected that legislative texts constitute particularly valuable materials for directive SAVs study and that the analysis of legal discourse will yield reliable results of their usage.

From a cultural perspective, directive SAVs in legislative discourse reflect the interpretation and perceptions of human attitudes and human action which are "deeply culture-embedded, reflecting culture-specific values and discourse practices" (Goddard, 2002, p. 113). SAVs are taken as an indication of the structure of linguistic behaviour (Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981). English and Chinese have developed different lexicons and structures of directive SAVs to conceptualize how to get people to do something with words. Both English and Chinese in their lexicon historically had and still have a wide variety of directive SAVs whose meanings serve to determine the possible illocutionary forces of the utterances of their sentences. Furthermore, legislative texts are closely related to the socio-cultural and historical contexts in which they are enacted. Therefore, the comparison of English directive SAVs with Chinese directive SAVs in legal discourse can not only reveal their semantic and syntactic similarities and differences, but also uncover respective cultural distinctiveness.

The practical relevance of this research is not simply to provide insights into the linguistic features of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative contexts, but to derive important implications for translating directive SAVs between English and Chinese in legislative contexts. The increasing international needs for accurate and authoritative legal translation between English and Chinese in the context of cooperation and collaboration in international trade and business, and the exchange between different peoples and countries represent a rich ground for exploring the functions and usage of directive SAVs in legislative discourse.

1.5 Significance

The theoretical value and practical significance of such everyday built-in metalanguage has long been recognized. Despite some research efforts in this regard, we have yet limited knowledge about the link between the semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns of directive SAVs and their usage in legislative discourse. Most studies are concerned exclusively with the semantic analysis of SAVs, and the valency sentence patterns of SAVs in naturally occurring texts are rarely studied. Previous semantic and syntactic analysis of SAVs in English and Chinese are usually conducted based mainly on introspection and qualitative reasoning (e.g. Wierzbicka, 1987; Zhong, 2008;

Chang, 2008), and have provided important insights into the correlation between semantic structures and syntactic patterns of SAVs in English and Chinese. Nevertheless, a large number of such studies are disadvantaged because the observation of the verbs investigated is not based on naturally occurring language.

This study proposes a unique theoretical approach that extends the corpus-linguistic framework to compare and contrast semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs in depth. It also introduces a complex methodology that combines computational analysis tools with manual examination to identify the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in the corpora of English and Chinese legislative texts and categorize their syntactic patterns, and to compare and contrast semantic meaning and syntactic patterns within and across the two languages. The corpus-based approach to the contrastive analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs in this study offers important advantages to the study of directive SAVs in legislative discourse. First of all, the results of the investigation will be more objective as the study is based on naturally occurring legislative texts written independently rather than on observer's introspection and intuition. Furthermore, since the number of the texts to be examined in this corpus-based study is significantly larger than can be looked at in non-corpus-based studies, the analysis and results of this study will be more reliable and accurate. Therefore, the new attempt in this study to integrate a corpus-linguistic framework and contrastive analysis can present more details about the usage patterns and meaning of directive SAVs and seems to be a more viable way to establish the correlation between the semantic and syntactic properties.

Although there have been some comparative studies on the semantic meaning of directive SAVs, there has been no study exploring the usage of English and Chinese directive SAVs on the basis of empirical language data in legislative contexts. By analyzing a large quantity of contrastive corpus data, we can have a comprehensive description of similarities and differences in the use of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative discourse and uncover possible links between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of these verbs. Furthermore, the results of this kind of research will be able to elucidate possible translation difficulties between English and Chinese SAVs in legislative contexts. Thus, this study offers new insights into the descriptive potential of

the corpus-linguistic approach to contrastive lexical semantics and syntax, and insights as to how the corpus-linguistic approach combined with contrastive approach can advance the field of translation studies.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

This study combines corpus-based and contrastive approaches, seeking to provide a more systematic account of directive SAVs in two typologically distinct languages – English and Chinese – on the basis of an examination of empirical language data.

Chapter 1 explicates the objectives and questions of this research, providing an in-depth background to the study and the organization of the study.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of literature relevant to the topics of English and Chinese directive SAVs and important contextual information about the study of legislative texts.

Chapter 3 presents a multiperspectival approach combining componential analysis and valency analysis to investigate the semantic and syntactic properties of English and Chinese directive SAVs as well as their correlation.

Chapter 4 introduces the framework of corpus linguistics and the methodology employed in the current study, outlining the establishment of the corpora and the nature of the data. Based on actual (i.e. 'naturally occurring') legislative texts, those valency patterns that English and Chinese directive SAVs share and those patterns that are specific to each language can be objectively and clearly observed, which leads to a reliable profiling about their usage in legislative discourse.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to semantic analysis and valency analysis of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs. Their semantic meaning and valency complements are discussed and then compared within and across the languages by considering both linguistic and extralinguistic factors to demonstrate the interplay of meaning and syntax and reveal the respective cultural distinctiveness.

Chapter 6 is devoted to a comprehensive description and contrastive analysis of the frequencies of occurrences and valency sentence patterns for English and Chinese directive SAVs based on language data collected in the comparable corpus created for this study. The syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs will be compared and contrasted to accurately capture their distinctions. In the process of contrastive analysis, we also deal with the potential factors triggering the use of English and Chinese directive SAVs in the legal genre.

Chapter 7 reports, in great detail, all the English translation equivalents of the examined Chinese directive SAVs occurring in the parallel corpus established for the current study. The analysis involves a comparison of the lexical meanings, frequencies of occurrences, and preferred valency sentence patterns of each Chinese directive SAV and its English translation equivalents in order to show the extent to which the valency sentence patterns of the original Chinese SAVs can govern the choice of English translation equivalents.

Chapter 8 offers implications of this research with a focus on English and Chinese legal translation.

In Chapter 9, conclusions are drawn regarding the research questions and key findings of the research as a whole, followed by a discussion of the limitations of the research findings. This chapter ends with a sketch of opportunities for future research.

2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SPEECH ACT VERBS

2.1 Introduction

A directive SAV can be defined as a verb used to carry out the directive speech act named by it, or to make explicit the type of directive speech act that is being performed by uttering it, or to interpret the type of directive speech act of other people's utterances. Directive speech acts include not only core directives such as commands, requests and begging, but also peripheral directives such as prohibitions, threats, advice, warnings and permissions (Skewis, 2002, p. 167). Directive SAVs include *order*, *request*, *invite*, *suggest*, *encourage*, *beg*, *plead*, *advise*, *permit*, *forbid* and *warn*.

Partridge attempts to establish a procedure for adequately defining the basic properties of SAVs. Partridge (1982) argues that performatives have complex features involving syntactic and morphological conditions (person, tense and congruence), and semantic postulates such as the presence of an "act"-component, an explicitness-component and a "say"- component. As such it seems unrealistic to account for all these factors under a single feature-marking. The character of all these components makes SAVs special and different from other types of verbs.

There are some special features of directive SAVs concerning the role of the speaker and addressee. According to Vanderveken (1990, p. 189), some directive illocutionary acts have a polite mode of achieving their illocutionary point, such as *ask* and *beg*, and the addressee is given an option of refusal. But some directive illocutionary acts, such as *order* or *command*, have a peremptory mode of achievement and the addressee does not have an option of refusal. Thus, "directive illocutionary acts with such a polite mode of achievement are said to be granted or refused when their satisfaction is evaluated", while "directive illocutionary acts with such a peremptory mode of achievement are said to be obeyed or disobeyed" (Vanderveken, 1990, p. 189).

In the previous chapter, I have outlined the motivation for my study of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative texts. The aim of this chapter is to review key theoretical concepts that guide my research and situate my investigation within previous attempts to describe and

explain the linguistic features of directive SAVs. Since the creation of speech act theory, SAVs have drawn increasing attention and constituted an especially important area of linguistic study. The investigations on SAVs focus mainly on four issues: the relationship between SAVs and speech acts, the classification of SAVs, the semantic meanings of SAVs and their usage.

Section 2.2 will review a key concept from theoretical speech act literature, that SAVs are language-specific labels which are offered by each language to describe the categorization of the universe of speech acts and to perceive culturally-specific human interactions and human relationships. This will include a description of the existing literature concerning the cultural conceptualizations of speech acts. Section 2.3 will then carry out a general critical evaluation of the research relevant to the classification of English and Chinese SAVs. A review of the literature about the identification of directive SAVs will be provided in Section 2.4. This will be followed by an examination of linguistic and extralinguistic features of English and Chinese directive SAVs on the basis of existing literature concerning the meaning construction of SAVs. The latest studies of English and Chinese SAVs in terms of their meaning identification as well as usage will be reviewed in Section 2.5.

One further purpose of this chapter is to set out the significance and implications of existing research in legal translation between English and Chinese, which this study extends, and that literature is dealt with in the final part of this chapter, Section 2.6.

2.2 Speech acts and SAVs

2.2.1 The development of speech act theory

It has been researchers' endeavours towards the creation of speech act theory that have oriented linguistic studies of SAVs. Speech act theory has developed from linguistic philosophy enquiring into how many ways people use language. In the 1950s, the British philosopher John Austin was the first to pay special attention to a group of sentences he labelled "performatives" (1975, p. 6), in which to say something is to do something or in which by saying or in saying something we are doing something. Austin (1962, p. 98) argues that by uttering a sentence, a speaker can perform

three acts simultaneously: “a locutionary act which is the act of saying something”; “an illocutionary act which is an act performed in saying something, the act identified by the explicit performatives”; and “a perlocutionary act which is the act performed by or as a result of saying something”. The interpretation of locutionary acts is concerned with meaning, while the interpretation of illocutionary acts is concerned with force (Austin, 1962). Basically, locutionary and illocutionary acts are linguistic acts performed in uttering certain words in appropriate circumstances, while perlocutionary acts are non-linguistic acts performed as a consequence of performing the locutionary and illocutionary acts (Austin, 1962). To make a distinction between a locutionary act and an illocutionary act is not easy, since the illocutionary force of an utterance is indeed part of its meaning.

When analyzing different types of speech acts, Austin uses SAVs which are selected from the dictionary by the method of testing the validity of verbs in the first person singular present indicative active form. He provides a relatively wide conception of SAVs, which he calls “performative verbs” (1975, p. 61). According to Austin (1962), a performative verb carries out the act it names and makes explicit the precise type of speech act that is being carried out in issuing the performative utterance. Much of the following research on speech acts maintains Austin’s tradition by using SAVs as a central source of evidence to explore speech acts, which reflects the significant role of SAVs in interpreting human action and communication behaviour.

A substantial number of studies have revised or further developed Austin’s speech act theory (e.g. Strawson, 1964; Cohen, 1969; Searle, 1969, 1975; Souza Filho, 1984; Searle, Kiefer & Bierwisch, 1980; Dirven & Verspoor, 1998). Cohen (1969), in his article *Do illocutionary force exist*? objects to Austin’s distinction between the locutionary meaning and illocutionary force, as he sees no difference between the meaning of a sentence uttered and its force. Cohen seems to have misunderstood the notion of illocutionary act. As Austin points out, although the illocutionary force of a sentence is also considered as part of its meaning, the meaning of an utterance and its illocutionary force are different features of the speech act. The locutionary act is the act of uttering a sentence with a determined sense. But a meaningful utterance may lack the desired force if the conditions for performing that locutionary act are not satisfied. Furthermore, the conditions or rules

for the performance of locutionary acts and illocutionary acts (force) are different: "the rules of the locutionary act are syntactic and semantic, the rules of illocutionary acts are not exclusively linguistic but include rules of use, social conventions and practices, etc" (Souza Filho, 1984, p. 39).

Following Austin, Searle (1969) developed a framework of speech acts which has been widely accepted by linguists as the basis for a linguistic approach to the study of language actions. According to Searle (1969), speech act theory is based on the assumption that the performance of certain types of acts is the basic or minimal unit of human communication. As such, Searle (1969) draws a different conclusion from Austin (1962) on the distinction between meaning and force by showing that meaning determines a particular force and a certain force is part of the meaning. As a consequence of the impossibility of distinguishing clearly the locutionary act from the illocutionary act, Searle (1969), in line with this thinking, advocates an alternative distinction, viewing the locutionary act and illocutionary act to be the same act, but two different parts: a proposition and an illocutionary force: F(p). In this typical logical structure of illocutionary acts F(p), F stands for the illocutionary force and (p) is the propositional content. In uttering words, a speaker can perform one or more illocutionary acts such as *thanking*, *asking* questions, *ordering*, *begging*, *appointing* and so on. Communication is to be successful only if the hearer is able to recognize both the illocutionary force of the sentence and the propositional content (Searle, 1969), and this is seen as the philosophical importance of a logical analysis of speech acts.

However, it is worth noting that there exist two apparently inconsistent strands in speech act theory. The first strand, associated with Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), places emphasis on social conventions, rules and contexts that are treated as a crucial factor in the performance of speech acts. As Austin (1962, pp. 26-36) claims, the correct and appropriate uttering of words is not sufficient to achieve the intended effect, unless four conditions are satisfied:

(1) There must exist an accepted conventional procedure, having a certain conventional effect, that procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances;

(2) The particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked;

(3) The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and

(4) completely.

It can be seen that the uttering of appropriate words by appropriate people in appropriate circumstances can constitute the performing of certain conventional acts. Searle (2002) made a similar claim that both individual intentionality and social practices play a significant role in determining speech acts.

The second strand, prominently associated with Grice (1957, 1969), emphasizes individual intentionality in speech act theory. On this view, individual acts are essential for determining speech acts and producing effects on hearers by getting the hearers to recognize speakers' intention to produce those effects (Grice, 1957, 1969). The importance of conventions, rules or social institutions in the performance of speech acts is not considered in Grice's theory. However, as literature critical of the second strand has illuminated, a speaker's intention itself and the hearers' recognition of that intention are, to a large extent, constrained by convention and social institutions. For example, a speaker can only *command* his or her subordinates or someone controlled by him or her to do something, and expects to trigger an immediate and semi-automatic response (Wierzbicka, 1987). If a person attempts to *command* someone who is actually not controlled by him or her, his or her intended effect cannot be assured even if the hearer recognized his or her intention. Thus, social restrictions on the use of *command* are also crucial for the performance of commanding.

Furthermore, speech acts are culturally specific, as the way they are conceptualized and labelled varies across languages and cultures (Wierzbicka, 1987). For example, within the code of Islamic beliefs, a man can divorce his wife by uttering the word 'divorce' in an appropriate circumstance, but the uttering of 'divorce' in countries not ruled by Islamic law cannot produce any legal effect. Hence, speech acts are not absolute acts, but conventional acts and different social practices and conventions across cultures invoke different conventional procedures. Accordingly, these produce different conventional effects.

Thus, speech act research in recent years has tended to develop the first rather than the second strand of speech act theory (e.g. Vanderveken, 1990). Following, I will review how research on SAVs has developed and extended from Austin and Searle's speech act theory.

2.2.2 Relationship between speech acts and SAVs

The strand of speech act theory proposed by Austin and further developed by Searle has initiated the linguistic study of SAVs. Thus, a considerable amount of linguistic research on SAVs is conducted from a functional point of view and within the framework of speech act theory, and investigates the function of language in human action and interaction. Within this body of literature, Vanderveken (1990) has provided the leading definition of performative verbs (i.e. SAVs) and identified their distinct properties. According to Vanderveken (1980, p. 247), a performative verb is

> any verb X of a natural language which, when applied to a first person singular pronoun and a clause A of a certain form composes a sentence, whose utterance in an appropriate context of use constitutes the performance of an illocutionary act of the force named by that verb X, and whose propositional content is the proposition expressed by A in that context.

Performative verbs are the main marker of illocutionary force in a performative utterance which is "a declarative sentence whose successful literal utterance constitutes the performance by the speaker of the illocutionary act named by its main performative verb" (Vanderveken, 1990, p. 17). This approach suggests that not all SAVs can be used performatively in declarative sentences to indicate the nature or the so-called illocutionary force of the utterance in which they occur. Wierzbicka (1987, p. 16) exemplifies this with *threaten* and *boast*, neither of which can be used in declarative sentences to indicate the force of a threatening or boasting. Those SAVs which can be used performatively have a certain linguistic competence, but in some cases also require "extra-linguistic institutional authority" (Vanderveken, 1990, p. 21).

Searle (2002) supports this approach by claiming that there is no special semantic property of performativity which attaches to verbs to enable them to be used performatively, arguing "as far as the literal meaning of the verb is concerned, unless there is some sort of block, any verb that

describes an intentional action could be used performatively" (2002, p. 175). Thus, it is the actual world and pragmatic constraints, not semantics, that make some SAVs performative and others non-performative. That explains why only a very small number of changes can be brought about in the world solely by the very uttering of a phrase acting upon the world, and why there is a very restricted range of human actions that speakers can perform by way of declaration of performance in appropriate contexts.

Moreover, Wierzbicka (1987, p. 10) argues that every language imposes a certain categorization on the universe of speech acts and SAVs are (language specific) labels offered by each language to describe the type of speech act, thus reflecting the interpretation and perceptions of human attitudes, relations and interaction (contra. Searle, 1969). For example, the analysis of the semantic components of SAV *order* essentially involves the analysis of illocutionary force of the speech act that *order* denotes (Wierzbicka, 1991, p. 202). Such argument can also be applied to other types of speech acts that are made explicit by SAVs.

Although the literature does not find a one-to-one correspondence between SAVs and the types of speech acts, it does establish a special and relatively stable correspondence between SAVs and speech acts, as each type of speech act is denoted by a certain SAV or a certain group of SAVs. As Wu (2008) argues, since sentences are classified according to their pragmatic functions performed by speech acts, a sentence of a natural language can perform as many illocutionary acts as the number of SAVs it has and thus SAVs are sufficient markers for sentence types. That is the reason why SAVs are always used as a basic resource for the analysis and classification of speech acts (see Wierzbicka, 1987; Bach & Harnish, 1979).

In fact, in Austin's (1962), Searle's (1969, 1979) and Bach and Harnish (1979)'s work, SAVs are used as examples to illustrate different types of speech acts, and the classification of speech acts in these works is provided by labelling each category with an SAV. This literature indicates that speech acts can hardly be analyzed independently or in the abstract without taking SAVs into consideration. As Levinson (1983, p. 42) argues, the categorization of the basic functions of language can be achieved by investigating a special type of verbs: speech act verbs.

Due to the fact that SAVs function as linguistic devices essential to the performance of speech acts and are easier to access than other types of data, they are widely studied and used as examples and tools for the analysis and categorization of speech acts (e.g. Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981; Kohnen, 2008; Moessner, 2010; Taavitsainen & Jucker, 2007; Vanderveken, 1990, 1991; Valkonen, 2008). For example, in Moessner's (2010) work, SAVs are studied as a well-defined set of performatives to carry out diachronic studies of speech acts, particularly of directive speech acts.

Due to such typical features of SAVs, the literature treats them as an important type of illocutionary force-indicating devices (IFIDs). According to Vanderveken (1980, p. 247), an IFID is "any expression whose sense determines that a literal utterance of a sentence containing a certain occurrence of that expression has a given illocutionary force". In other words, IFIDs serve the function of showing what illocutionary act the speaker is performing in the utterance of the sentence. Some work on the function of SAVs has shown that there are more SAVs naming illocutionary forces than illocutionary force markers in natural languages (Vanderveken, 1990, p. 22).

While the literature reviewed above largely centres on English speech acts, the scholars reviewed below have applied speech act theory to analyses of Chinese verbs, paving the way for studies such as this one.

2.2.3 Speech act theory and Chinese SAVs

It should be pointed out, however, that the literature on speech act theory is oriented towards English (e.g. Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969); nevertheless, a theoretical scientific analysis derived from English speech acts may also be applied to the analysis of other languages. In particular, it has been widely accepted in the literature that speech act theory which is based on studies of English language can also be applied to Chinese SAVs analysis with appropriate revision to some parameters based on the specific properties of the Chinese language (e.g. Gu, 1994; Liu, 1996; Ou, 2010; Wu, 2011; Zhong & Zhang, 2004). From preliminary observations of more than fifty Chinese

SAVs, for instance, Gu (1994) confirms that people can perform actions by saying something in Chinese and that speech act theory can therefore be applied to the study of the Chinese language.

To capture the relationship between Chinese SAVs and speech acts, Wu (2009) explores the function and features of Chinese SAVs. He argues that sentence types, in essence, are types of speech acts in Chinese. The main IFIDs in Chinese are SAVs, auxiliary verbs, sentence patterns, sentence tones, interjections and tone adverbs. However, auxiliary verbs, tone adverbs and sentence patterns can only partly reflect the illocutionary force of Chinese sentences. By contrast, Wu (2009) argues, SAVs can fully and explicitly make clear the sentence type and are sufficient markers for sentence type, because of three main features of SAVs: their reflective function, being readily observable, and being comprehensive (Wu, 2009).

Notably, each Chinese sentence has a corresponding SAV that makes explicit the act it performs and, in most cases, SAVs are omitted in implicit performatives in Chinese (Wu, 2011). All implicit performatives can be transformed to explicit performatives by adding the corresponding SAV. That is to say, SAVs are comprehensive and can name all sentence types in Chinese. SAVs are considered to be the most distinct metapragmatic markers at the vocabulary level, making explicit the type of speech act that is being performed by uttering a certain sentence (Wu, 2008). Due to these features, Chinese SAVs are regarded as sufficient markers for sentence types when they fulfil their specific metadiscourse functions. Thus, the analysis of directive SAVs is indeed the analysis of lexicalized directive speech acts. Similarly, Sun (2009) also claims that when a SAV appears in the structure of a speech act, the description of the meaning of the corresponding verb is the description of the speech act itself.

Wu (2009) finds that in Chinese there are a greater number of directive SAVs than other forms of illocutionary force markers, such as imperative sentence structures, to perform directive acts. This substantially supports Vanderveken's (1990, p. 22) general claim that there are more SAVs naming illocutionary forces than other illocutionary force markers in natural languages.

Therefore, speech act theory can be applied to the interpretation of the use of Chinese SAVs and can greatly contribute to the identification of differences of directive SAVs between English and

Chinese. The following section will discuss the approaches to categorizing SAVs and the issues involved with different types of categorization.

2.3 Categorization of SAVs

Many attempts have been made to classify English and Chinese SAVs. The whole set of SAVs are often classified primarily by the type of speech acts that they denote, as they are often used as proxies to classify (illocutionary) speech acts (e.g. Austin, 1962; Alston, 1963; Chang, 2008; Searle, 1969; Bach & Harnish, 1979; Brennenstuhl, 1981; Vanderveken, 1990). However, scholars impose different categories on the universe of speech acts and SAVs, because of differing conceptual frameworks and approaches to English and Chinese SAVs. Therefore, the classification of SAVs is to some degree subjective and arbitrary.

2.3.1 Austin's classification of English SAVs

Using SAVs as examples, Austin (1962, pp. 151-152) develops a taxonomy of speech act with five categories: "verdictives", "exercitives", "expositives", "behabitives" and "commissives" as illustrated in the following:

> Verdictives are typified by the giving of a verdict, as the name implies, by a jury, arbitrator, or umpire. But they need not be final; they may be, for example, an estimate, reckoning, or appraisal. It is essentially giving a finding as to something – fact, or value – which is for different reasons hard to be certain about;
>
> Exercitives are the exercising of powers, rights or influence. Examples are appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, warning, etc;
>
> Commissives are typified by promising or otherwise undertaking; they commit you to doing something, but include also declarations or announcements of intention, which are not promises;
>
> Behabitives: these are related to social behaviour. Examples are apologizing, congratulating, commending, condoling, cursing, and challenging;
>
> Expositives: they make plain how our utterances fit into the course of an argument or conversation, how we are using the words, or, in general, are expository. Examples are: 'I reply'. 'I argue', 'I concede', 'I illustrate', 'I assume', 'I postulate'.

Since Austin's (1962) five basic categories of illocutionary acts are based on the analysis of performative verbs (i.e. SAVs), Austin's classification of illocutionary acts is indeed the classification of performative verbs. But Austin's (1962) taxonomy is considered questionable. Searle (1975, p. 354) points out weaknesses in Austin's taxonomy, such as "too much overlap of the categories", "too much heterogeneity within the categories" and "no consistent principle of classification". Despite the criticism on Austin's taxonomy, Austin's concepts of different types of speech acts allow us to explore the use of language from a new perspective and have led to a substantial body of findings on the categorizations of speech acts and SAVs (e.g. Bach & Harnish, 1979; Searle, 1979).

2.3.2 Searle's classification of English SAVs

Searle (1979) revises Austin's (1962) classification of speech acts (or SAVs) and presents an alternative taxonomy on the basis of the following twelve significant dimensions of variation (Searle, 1979, pp. 2-8).

(1) Differences in the point (or purpose) of the (type of) act.

(2) Differences in the direction of fit between words and the world.

(3) Differences in expressed psychological states.

(4) Differences in the force or strength with which the illocutionary point is presented.

(5) Differences in the status or position of the speaker and hearer as these bear on the illocutionary force of the utterance.

(6) Differences in the way the utterance relates to the interests of the speaker and the hearer.

(7) Differences in relation to the rest of the discourse.

(8) Differences in propositional content that are determined by illocutionary force indicating devices.

(9) Differences between those acts that must always be speech acts, and those that can be, but need not be performed as speech acts.

(10) Differences between those acts that require extralinguistic institutions for their performance and those that do not.

(11) Differences between those acts where the corresponding illocutionary verb has a performative use and those where it does not.

(12) Differences in the style of performance of the illocutionary act.

As discussed in Section 2.2, Searle's classification of speech acts can be seen as the classification of SAVs. Based on these twelve dimensions in which the illocutionary acts differ one from another, speech acts (and, by proxy, SAVs) are classified by Searle (1969, pp. 354-359) into the following five categories:

> Representatives: The point or purpose of the members of the representative class is to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition.
>
> Directives: The illocutionary point of these consists in the fact that they are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something.
>
> Commissives: Commissives then are those illocutionary acts whose point is to commit the speaker to some future course of action.
>
> Expressives: The illocutionary point of this class is to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content.
>
> Declarations: It is the defining characteristic of this class that the successful performance of one of its members brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality.

Most of Austin's expositives and many of his verdictives are in Searle's Representatives class, such as *boast*, *complain*, *conclude* and *deduce*. Directives can be very modest or very fierce attempts. Searle's Directives class contains many of Austin's exercitives and some of Austin's behabitives, such as *order*, *command*, *request*, *ask*, *question*, *beg*, *plead*, *permit* and *advise*. Austin's commissive verbs such as *shall* and *intend* are in Searle's Commissives class. The Expressives class contains verbs such as *thank*, *condole* and *apologize*. Declarations in Searle's classification contains *resign*, *fire* somebody and *declare* a war. Searle's classification is regarded as a widely accepted categorization of SAVs as the twelve dimensions of variation proposed by Searle (1979) are considered significant in analyzing and categorizing SAVs.

Since the performance of the speech act is not "a matter of brute fact", but "essentially involves institutional facts that are made possible by systems of constitutive rules" (Searle, 2002, pp.151-170), both linguistic and extralinguistic factors, including cultural factors, must be considered in the semantic description of directive SAVs. In many lexical studies, English and Chinese SAVs

are also classified based on their semantic meaning, the characters of 'speech' or the manner in which verbal information is delivered (e.g. Wierzbicka, 1987; Zhong, 2005; Chang, 2008).

2.3.3 Wierzbicka's classification approach by semantic meaning

In cross-cultural semantic studies of SAVs, another theory that has also drawn great attention is the Natural Semantic Metalanguage framework mainly developed by Wierzbicka (1987, 1996). In her book *English Speech Act Verbs: A Semantic Dictionary*, Wierzbicka (1987) systematically investigates the meaning of 230 English SAVs which are widely and generally used. Wierzbicka (1987) extricates the classification of SAVs from the traditional framework, because she notes that, on the one hand, the vocabulary of SAVs does not have a hierarchical structure and they cannot be represented as a set of "basic words" and their "hyponyms"; and on the other hand, SAVs are closely related to each other rather than isolated from each other. Thus, the semantic components of each verb are the principled basis upon which Wierzbicka distinguishes and classifies these SAVs. In the dictionary, SAVs are divided into 37 classes including *ask*$_1$, *ask*$_2$, *order*, *call*, *forbid*, *permit*, *argue*, *reprimand*, *mock*, *blame*, *accuse*, *attack*, *warn*, *advise*, *offer*, *praise*, *promise*, *thank*, *forgive*, *complain*, *explain*, *guess*, *hint*, *conclude*, *tell*, *inform*, *sum up*, *admit*, *assert*, *confirm*, *stress*, *declare*, *baptize*, *remark*, *answer*, *discuss* and *talk*. Each class comprises closely related verbs. For example, *permit* is closely related to *allow*, but it also relates to *agree* and *consent*, so these are one class. *Consent* is also related to *accept* and *approve*, *approve* to *disapprove* and *authorize* and *authorize* to *appoint*. Thus, these SAVs are also grouped into one class in the dictionary.

This semantic approach reflects considerable differences in the semantic meaning of SAVs and cultural conceptualizations of speech acts. Moreover, Wierzbicka's categorizations of SAVs from the semantic perspective are, in fact, consistent with those categorizations of SAVs which depend mainly on the speech acts performed by uttering certain words (e.g. Searle, 1979). Verbs in Wierzbicka's (1987) *order*, *ask*, *permit*, *advise* and *warn* groups are all directive SAVs.

In this study, the classification of English and Chinese SAVs will be based on Searle's (1969) classification of speech acts or SAVs, and the semantic analysis of English and Chinese directive

SAVs will be carried out within Wierzbicka's semantic framework. Though many studies have further developed Searle's taxonomy, later taxonomies are, to a large extent, similar to Searle's. Further, given this study will analyze both English and Chinese SAVs, it is worth noting that classifications of Chinese SAVs proposed in the Chinese language literature show a remarkable similarity to Searle's classification (e.g. Chang, 2008; Zhong, 2005). For example, Chang's '*imperative*' category and Zhong's '*imperative*', '*forbid*' and '*invitation*' sub-categories correspond with Searle's groupings of directive SAVs. Such convergence justifies the application of Searle's taxonomy to Chinese SAVs. To give a clear illustration of this, Zhong's and Chang's classification approaches are discussed in the following section.

2.3.4 Classifications of Chinese SAVs

Following Wierzbicka, Zhong (2007, 2008) has carried out comprehensive analyses of Chinese SAVs under the cognitive semantic framework. Based on the direction of the transmission of information, Zhong (2005, 2007) classifies English and Chinese SAVs into four categories: *yiban youxiang lei* (General towards the Right category), *teshu youxiang lei* (Special towards the Right category), *zuoyou xiang lei* (Towards the Left and Right category) *and huxiang lei* (Interactive category) as illustrated in Table 2-1. The "left" symbolizes Speakers and the "right" symbolizes Hearers. For example, for the SAVs within General towards the Right category, the verb describes a speech act whereby information is transmitted from a speaker (imagined to be on the left) to a hearer (imagined to be on the right) as a unilateral communication. This category includes *suggest*, *explain*, *forbid* and *promise*.

Table 2-1 Zhong's classification of Chinese SAVs (2007, pp. 38-39)

言语行为动词 (SAVs)	单向 (one-way)	一般右向类 (General toward the Right category)	告知范畴 (notification)	通行类(passage group)，上下类(up and down group)，社会类(social group)，过错类(fault group)，凸现类(highlight group)
			回应范畴(response)	中性类 (neutral group)，肯定类 (confirm group)，否定类 (deny group)
			解释范畴(explanation)	解说类 (explain group)
			建议范畴 (suggestion)	建议类 (suggest group)
			禁止范畴 (prohibition)	禁止类 (forbid group)
			承诺范畴 (commitment)	许诺类 (promise group)
			情感范畴 (emotion)	安慰类 (comfort group)，赞扬类 (praise group)，感谢类 (thank group)，发泄类 (express group)
			批评范畴 (criticism)	批评类 (criticize group)，告诫类 (warn group)
			命名范畴 (naming)	名称类 (name group)
			哄骗范畴 (cheating)	哄骗类 (cheat group)
	单向 (one-way)	特殊右向类 (Special towards the Right category)	邀请范畴 (invitation)	邀请类 (invite group)
			祈使范畴 (imperative)	命令类 (order group)，请求类 (request group)，说服类 (persuade group)
		左右向类 (Towards the Left and Right category)	询疑范畴 (inquiry)	疑问类 (ask group)，盘问类 (interrogate group)
	互向 (two-way)	互相类 (Interactive category)	议论范畴 (discussion)	交谈类 (talk group)，讨论类(discuss group)
			争论范畴 (argument)	争论类 (argue group)

Zhong explains his notions of one- and two-way communications: verbs in the Interactive category, for example, describe a speech act in which information is necessarily transmitted both from speaker to hearer and from hearer to speaker, forming a two-way communication. This category includes *discuss*, *talk* and *argue*. The difference between Towards the Left and Right category and Interactive Category lies in that the actions denoted by the verbs in the former occur in clear

sequential order whereas the actions denoted by the verbs in the latter occur almost at the same time. Thus, the verbs in the Interactive category involve multiple transmission of information.

Zhong then subdivides his four categories into 15 sub-categories and then 29 groups based on the semantic meaning of the verbs. The Special towards the Right category (i.e. verbs for actions of speaking to passive listeners) is classified into two sub-categories: *yaoqing fanchou* (invitation sub-category) and *qishi fanchou* (imperative sub-category). The Imperative sub-category is then further categorized into three sub-groups: *mingling lei* (Order group), *qingqiu lei* (Request group) and *shuofu lei* (Persuade group). The characteristics of the Chinese SAVs in each group are fully detailed in Zhong's (2005, 2007) classification.

As can be seen from Table 2-1, Zhong's classification is hierarchical involving both the recognition of object (content or information) and semantic meaning of the SAVs. Since the interpretation of meaning of SAVs largely depends on the context, the determination of direction of information transmission and semantic meaning of SAVs is to some extent subjective. Nevertheless, Zhong's classification of Chinese SAVs clearly reflect the way in which Chinese SAVs are constructed by speakers to conceptualize human thoughts and action. Thus, Zhong's work has led to a better understanding of the meaning and use of Chinese SAVs and provides a basis for further research in this area.

Apart from Zhong's classification, some other studies on the categorization of Chinese SAVs can be found (e.g. Chang, 2008; Sun, 2001; Wang, 2004). For example, Chang (2008) has classified 718 Chinese SAVs into six categories: *Wenda* (Questions and Answers), *Jiaohu* (interactive), *Qishi* (imperative), *Qinggan* (emotional), *Pingjia* (evaluative) and *Gaozhi* (declarative), based on the features of their semantic components, including (1) purpose of the action; (2) agent of the action; (3) manner of the action; (4) addressee or content and, (5) aim or result of the action. Chang's study focuses on the semantic roles and semantic features of Chinese SAVs. This is the typical way most Chinese researchers analyze Chinese SAVs.

It is worth pointing out that many efforts have been made to categorize directive SAVs. Wierzbicka (1987, p. 29) argues that "SAVs don't have the kind of 'taxonomic' structure characteristic of

words for animals or plants" and "the semantic relations between these verbs are always more complicated and more varied than that". Thus, the classification of directive SAVs is actually highly individual choices of researchers (Wierzbicka, 1987). For example, taking into consideration three factors: performer of the action, beneficiary of the action and the social status and relationship between the speaker and the addressee, Sun (2005) classifies directive SAVs into five sub-categories: *qingqiu* (request), *mingling* (order), *quangao* (advise), *zhidao xing qishi* (directive imperative) and *huiying xing qishi* (responsive imperative). Xiao (2010), according to the content of the speech, classifies directive SAVs into five sub-categories: *qingqiu lei* (requests), *yaoqing lei* (invitation), *jianyi lei* (suggestions), *zhonggao lei* (advice) and *jinggao lei* (warnings). Therefore, due to the objectivity issues regarding their categorization and the research purpose of this study, only the essentials of classification literature of SAVs are reviewed and the further categorization of directive SAVs will not be discussed in this study.

2.4 English and Chinese Directive SAVs

In this study, Searle's classification of SAVs and Wierzbicka's semantic approaches to English SAVs will serve as a basis for a contrastive analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs. In this Section, some important linguistic and extralinguistic features of directive SAVs are explored.

2.4.1 Features of directive SAVs

With reference to the 12 dimensions put forward by Searle (see Section 2.3.2), some general features of directive SAVs are described in the following:

(1) The purpose of directive SAVs is to cause someone to do something.

(2) Directive SAVs are to cause the world to fit the words.

(3) The expressed psychological states of the speaker vary among different directive SAVs.

(4) The force or strength with which the illocutionary point is presented varies among different directive SAVs.

(5) The speaker has superior authority over the hearer, or a certain right.

(6) The way the utterance relates to the interests of the speaker and the hearer varies among different directive SAVs.

(7) The relationship to the rest of the discourse varies between directive SAVs.

(8) Propositional content is determined by directive SAVs as IFIDs.

(9) Not applied to directive SAVs (as it concerns a feature of speech acts which does not apply to SAVs).

(10) Directive SAVs require extralinguistic institutions for their performance.

(11) Some directive SAVs have a performative use and some do not.

(12) The styles of performance of the illocutionary act vary among different directive SAVs.

Searle's dimension (9) is not applied as it concerns a feature of speech acts which does not apply to SAVs. Directive SAVs are intentional verbs containing the notion of intention as part of their meaning. As Wierzbicka (1987, p. 3) claims, SAVs are used by the speaker to deliver information, express intention and attitude to the hearer through speech. In addition, SAVs have an illocutionary point as part of their meaning, as they are in essence what originates in subject's mind which is referred to as 'the internal reality', and manifest it externally (Shinzato, 2004). The intention of the speaker who utters a directive SAV is to get the hearer to do something and the uttering of directive SAVs in appropriate circumstances can cause the addressee to perform the action specified in the propositional content. When naming the type of speech act performed by the speaker, a directive SAV implies that the speaker performs the acts intentionally. The speaker cannot, for example, order unintentionally by saying 'I order you to write it down'. If the speaker does not intend it as an order, then it is not an order.

Furthermore, the utterance of most directive SAVs involves a subsequent action by the addressee. Most directive SAVs can be used performatively to indicate the nature or so-called illocutionary force of the utterance in which they occur and when used performatively they differ from one another in the 'degree' of their performativity (Wierzbicka, 1987). The utterance of directive SAVs attempts to perform a directive speech act which makes the addressee's action fit the propositional

content and shows a world-to-words fit. In other words, the uttering of certain directive SAVs by certain persons in certain circumstances can cause something to happen and accordingly change the world.

2.4.2 Integrated model for analyzing directive SAVs

As discussed earlier, both linguistic and extralinguistic conditions are required for using directive SAVs to perform directive speech act. That is why there is a very restricted range of human actions that speakers can perform by way of declaration of performance in appropriate contexts. The 12 dimensions for the classification of speech acts proposed by Searle (1969) are actually a detailed description of conventions, social practice and constitutional rules for the performance of speech acts. In a number of studies, the performance of directive speech acts is analyzed based on Searle's (1969) description. Taking *request* as an example, Panther and Thornburg (1998, p. 759) put forward the following simplified scenario:

The BEFORE:

The hearer (H) can do the action (A)

The speaker (S) wants H to do A

The CORE

S puts H under a (more or less strong) obligation to do A.

The AFTER

He will do A

Panther and Thornburg (1998, p. 759) argue that the performance of a speech act can be analyzed by looking at three parts or components: the components before uttering the speech act, the core component for the performance of the speech act, and the components after performing the act. Panther and Thornburg's account essentially suggests that each of the components of this scenario may stand for an act of *requesting*. However, this analysis overlooks a number of relevant aspects of the production and understanding of the act of *requesting*, such as the degree of politeness of illocutionary acts, the power relationship between the speaker and hearer in a particular interactional exchange, the degree of cost-benefit of the requested action and the degree of

optionality conveyed by the illocutionary act, as Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza (2002, p. 264) point out.

Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza (2002) also propose an illocutionary scenario that is integrated into a more general type of knowledge organization structure and take into account the propositional Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) for each directive subtype. In their discussion, the cost or benefit that an action involves for the speaker and the hearer, the degree of optionality conveyed by a speech act, and the power relationship between the speaker and the hearer are considered to be three essential parameters. Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza (2002, p. 264) have revised Panther and Thornburg's illocutionary scenarios by adding the following three ICMs:

ICM of *Requests*:

Panther and Thornburg's scenario, above, plus:

> A represents a cost to H and a benefit to S
> High optionality (politeness)
> The power relationship between S and H is immaterial in this specific case

On this analysis, the difference between the acts of *request* and *order*, for instance, lies basically in the level of power in the relationship between the speaker and the hearer (ordering entailing more power than requesting) and in the degree of optionality (responding to requests being more optional than responding to orders).

Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza's three ICMs largely complement Panther and Thornburg's model. The resulting integrated model for the analysis of the performance of directive SAVs, along with Searle's 12 dimensions, provides a theoretical account of the cognitive and social environment in which directive SAVs are used to perform directive speech act and produce illocutionary force. This integrated model and Searle's 12 dimensions will be used in this study to analyze the semantic components and functions of the English and Chinese directive SAVs. That is, in this study, the meaning of the directive SAVs, i.e. their functional significance, will be examined within a social-

cultural system accounted for in 12 dimensions, following Searle (1979), and by applying Panther and Thornburg's illocutionary model together with Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza's three ICMs.

2.4.3 Culturally moulded directive SAVs

The meaning and usage of directive SAVs in English and Chinese cannot be discussed without recourse to the cultural specificity of both languages, as "language is an essential instrument and component of culture, whose reflection in linguistic structure is pervasive and quite significant" (Langacker, 1999, p. 16). The close relationship between language (lexicon) and culture is also explained by Sapir, who originates the discussion of cultural specificity of language. According to Sapir (1993, p. 166), "languages differ widely in the nature of their vocabularies. Distinctions which seem inevitable to us may be ignored in languages which reflect an entirely different type of culture, while these in turn insist on distinctions which are all but unintelligible to us". Zhang (2007, p. 12) adds that "vocabulary is the best evidence of the reality of 'culture' because it reveals the specific concepts and classifications of categories and has been historically transmitted". In other words, the lexicons of different languages differ significantly, which reflects differences in cultural conceptualization of human interaction and human communication.

As a special type of vocabularies of both English and Chinese languages, directive SAVs reflect interpretations and perceptions of human action and human interation which are "deeply culture embedded, reflecting culture-specific values and discourse practices" (Goddard, 2002, p. 113). English and Chinese directive SAVs are shaped by the way in which their speakers experience and perceive the world, and conceptualize and label the phenomena around them (Zhang, 2007). Undoubtedly people living in a certain area have their own way of thinking which connects to various factors including geography, history, nation and custom (Deng, 1997). All these cultural factors are encoded in the characterizations of directive SAVs. This explains, to a large extent, why English and Chinese have diferent lexicons of directive SAVs and different structures. For example, language and culturally-specific labels are offered to the category of directive SAVs in the two languages, such as *directive* in English (e.g. Searle, 1979; Vanderveken, 1990; Skewis, 2002), which would usually be translated as *zhishi* or *qishi* (imperative) in Chinese (e.g. Chang, 2008;

Zhong, 2008; Xiao, 2010), which is usually rendered as *imperative* in translation. Different lexicons of directive SAVs in English and Chinese represent the different established categories of human thought and reflect their distinctive cultural features (Fillmore, 2003).

Hence English and Chinese directive SAVs that are culturally moulded will no doubt reflect their cultural features. The comparison of the lexicon of semantically similar English and Chinese directive SAVs can therefore suggest similarities and differences in conceptualizations of speech act. To fully understand cultural specificity of English and Chinese directive SAVs, their semantic and syntactic properties will be analyzed in their cultural contexts in this study.

From the discussion above, it can be seen that the semantic meaning and usage studies of English and Chinese directive SAVs are important for a better understanding of the relationship between lexicon and culture. In the following section, some substantial research of English and Chinese directive SAVs will be discussed.

2.5 Latest studies of semantic meaning and usage of English and Chinese SAVs

2.5.1 Semantic analysis of English SAVs

SAVs have received increasing attention due to their crucial importance in the interpretation of the world of human action and interaction, and many scholars have therefore proposed semantic field analyses of SAVs in English or other languages (e.g. Austin, 1962; Hymes, 1962; Hoenigswald, 1966; Fishman, 1971; Longacre, 1976). However, there are very few large-scale studies of SAVs available, and in fact SAVs are often treated superficially in theoretically oriented literature (Wierzbicka, 1987). For example, in Verschueren's *What People Say They Do with Words* (1985), though English and Dutch SAVs are discussed and insightful theoretical comments are made on these SAVs, these SAVs are simply defined by a few words without any explication of their semantic meaning.

Similarly, in Vanderveken's (1990) work, despite the identification of distinct properties of performative verbs, they are treated with a superficial analysis lacking linguistic details. In

Meaning and Speech Act, Vanderveken (1991) presents rules of translation for a series of English SAVs through an indirect formal analysis. However, when it comes to defining what these SAVs mean, the definitions offered are not much beyond the level of adequacy offered in traditional dictionaries. For example, to *advise* is identified in terms of to *suggest*, and to *recommend* is identified in terms of to *advise*. These definitions exhibit a circularity typical of traditional dictionary definitions.

Naturally it is impossible to give an accurate definition of a SAV simply by interpreting it with a few words, because collocation, syntactic frames, individual intentionality, convention and social practices, which are all considered as important clues for distinguishing and determining the semantic meanings of SAVs, are not investigated and included in the definition.

2.5.1.1 Wierzbicka's reductive paraphrases of English SAVs

Wierzbicka has pioneered a systematic semantic study of the entire lexicon of English SAVs and originated the Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach, which has drawn the most attention in cross-cultural lexical semantics (Zhang, 2014). Her book *English Speech Act Verbs - A Semantic Dictionary*, is devoted exclusively to semantic analysis of 230 SAVs that are commonly used in ordinary English. What Wierzbicka endeavours to do in this study is to deconstruct or decompose SAVs in natural English into semantic components, compare semantically related SAVs and find which semantic components in them are different and which are common. Wierzbicka (1987) extricates her analysis from the traditional taxonomy of SAVs and strives with greatest efficiency to minimize circularity in word definitions by defining these verbs in terms of small, basic and translatable metalanguage which is also called "universal concepts" or "semantic primitives", including '*good*', '*bad*', '*people*', '*want*', '*think*', '*know*', '*say*' and '*understand*'. These semantic primitives are believed to exist in most of the world's natural languages (Wierzbicka, 1996). In this dictionary, English SAVs are treated with a much deeper analysis of their semantic components and around 60 basic words or concepts are employed to define and explain complicated SAVs without the danger of circular definitions.

According to Wierzbicka (1987, p. 18), the meanings of SAVs include mainly two components: the "dictum" as in the frame "I say …", and the "illocutionary purpose" as in the frame "I say this because …". The two terms do not correspond exactly to the way they are originally used in speech act theories proposed by Austin and Searle. In Wierzbicka's semantic analysis, 'dictum' refers to the overt content of the utterance, while the 'illocutionary purpose' refers to speaker's intention as described in a SAV. The formulae applied in Wierzbicka's dictionary are called "reductive paraphrases" (1987, p. 12). The meaning of a SAV may also include additional components such as feelings, emotions, thoughts, assumptions and intentions which vary from verb to verb (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 18).

Wierzbicka (1987) also convincingly concludes that the main difference between SAVs and verbs of physical action such as *kick*, *drink*, *walk* or *write* lies in the fact that the meaning of a SAV contains overt content, illocutionary purpose and other additional components including various assumptions, emotions, feelings, intuitions, thoughts and intentions which are inapplicable to verbs of physical action. When people, by using a SAV, perform speech acts in direct discourse or interpret other people's speech acts in reported speech, people attribute to them, directly or indirectly, certain first person attitudes in terms of their feelings, assumptions, intentions and so on (Wierzbicka, 1987). For example, if person C observes person A saying to person B "Write it down", person C may report this event by saying "A asked B to write it down", or "A ordered B to write it down", or "A requested B to write it down" or "A urged B to write it down", or in other possible ways. It is obvious that person C interprets person A's utterance by attributing to A certain thoughts, intentions or assumptions. To the contrary, if person C observes person A drinking juice, C can report such action without imposing certain feelings or assumptions on A: "A drank some juice".

Based on Dixon's (1985) assumption that different syntactic properties may reflect different meanings, and with her experience completing the semantic dictionary, Wierzbicka (1987, p. 24) makes a persuasive claim that "particularly strong evidence for semantic formulae comes from syntax, and that syntactic properties of SAVs provide astonishingly reliable clues to their semantic structure". The tendencies of SAVs to co-occur with certain words are treated as important clues

to the semantic differences between SAVs. For example, Wierzbicka (1987) compares the adverbs with which some verbs tend to co-occur and the modals with which SAVs can occur. Her study suggests that differences of this kind correlate to some extent with differences in meaning, but the findings from her investigation need a further process of explication and can only be used on a limited scale. Wierzbicka's confident theorizing of a system of SAV semantics has exerted a dramatic influence on studies of SAVs since.

2.5.1.2 Harras and Winkler's resource situations for SAVs

Harras and Winkler (1994), in their analysis of German SAVs, suggest that the semantic framework for describing SAVs should be based on an action-theoretical semantic conception that a certain type of situation which a set of SAVs depend on to perform speech acts characterizes the semantic invariant of the set of SAVs. According to Harras and Winkler (1994, p. 445), there are two hierarchical levels of resource situations: a general type of resource situation at the top hierarchical level and special types of resource situations on the lower hierarchical level. A general type of resource situation can be defined by four different roles: the role of the speaker, the role of the hearer, the role of the propositional content, and the role of the communicative attitude of the speaker (Harras & Winkler, 1994, p. 440). The general type of resource represents the central semantic features for SAVs and the most basic elements of linguistic action, and provides the basis for further semantic differentiations of SAVs.

Harras and Winkler (1994) then assign different attributes marked by different values to the four roles of the general type of resource situation to establish special types of resource situation which can be used as the frame for classifying subsets of SAVs. The attributes of the four roles and the values of the attributes are illustrated in Figure 2-1.

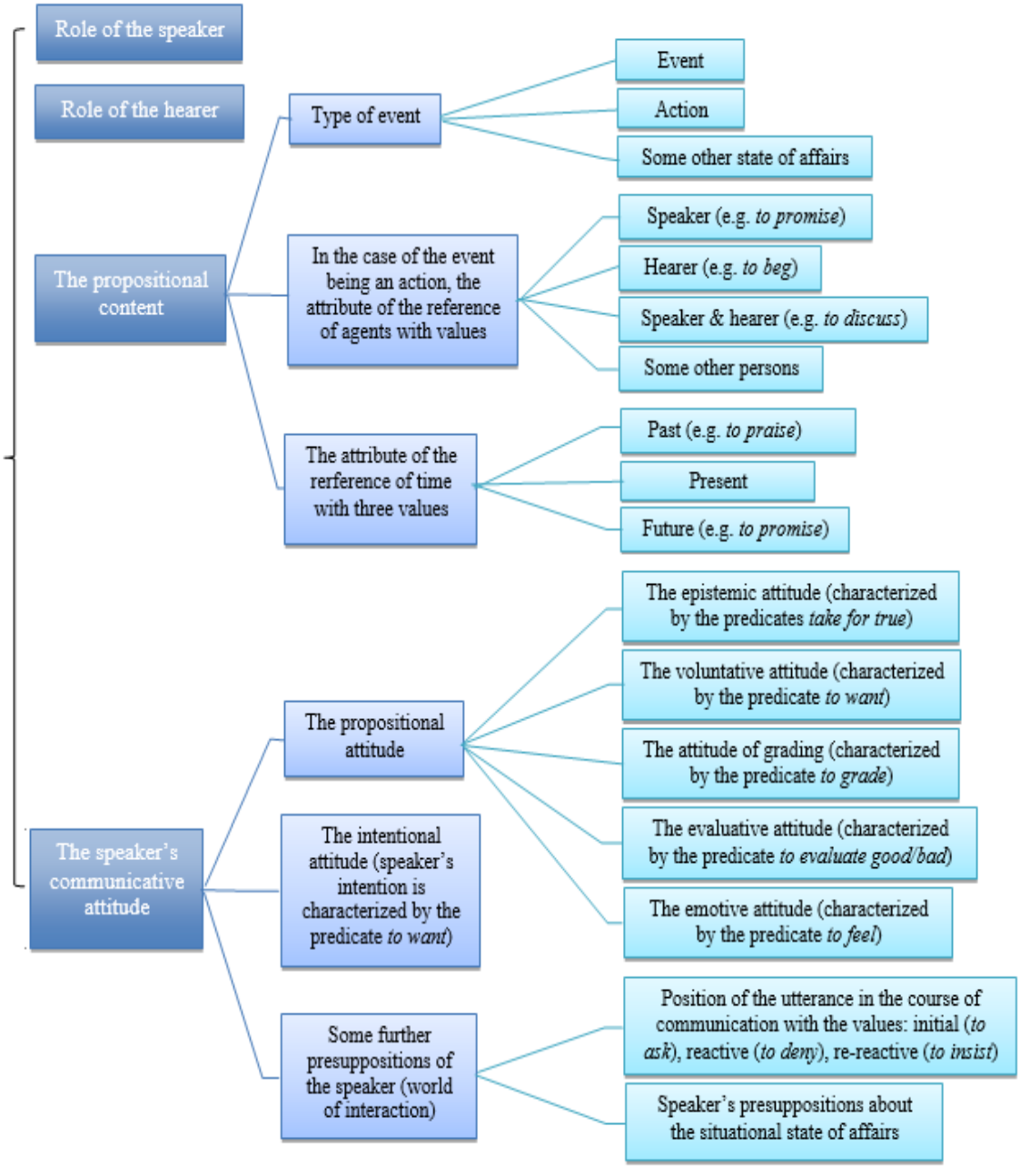

Figure 2-1 Resource situations

Their findings are that the elements of the general type of resource situation are specified by means of various attributes and attribute values, and that special types of resource situation for subtypes of SAVs are built up with these specifications. They suggest that conditions of use and semantic features of specific SAVs can be described with reference to the various attributes of the relevant special type of resource situation.

2.5.1.3 Studies of a single kind of English SAVs

The literature on SAVs also includes a substantial number of studies which focus on a single kind of SAVs (e.g. Waugh, 1998; Monville-Burston, 1993; Sun, 2001; Du, 2004; Zhong, 2004). Naturally, studies of this kind often do go beyond the superficiality of the dictionary-style definitions and they certainly have the space needed for a deeper analysis of an individual category. For example, based on the investigation of the uses of clarifying SAVs in journalistic texts, Waugh (1998) has found that SAVs are typically ways for reporters to guide the reader as to how to understand the reported speech in the larger discourse context.

One study concerning directive SAVs was carried out by Wu (2007) who investigated the semantic features and usage of the English directive SAV *forbid* by comparing it with *order* and *prohibit* that are semantically related to *forbid*. According to Wu (2007), although both *forbid* and *order* have the same assumption of authority in their usage, i.e. their power relationships are equivalent, but *forbid* has a more personal character than *order*. By contrast, the difference between *forbid* and *prohibit* lies in their deep semantic properties. *Prohibit* has a ring of legality to it, often taking institutions and other impersonal agents as its subjects such as “the law”, “the state”, “the court” and “the board”, while a speech act of *forbidding* normally takes as its agent a particular person with authority such as a parent, boss, employer, or doctor. Furthermore, *forbid* is used in the construction “forbid somebody to do something” or slightly more formally “forbid something”. Strictly speaking, the construction “forbid somebody doing something” is not correct. To the contrary, *prohibit* is used in the construction “prohibit something” or “prohibit somebody from doing something”, differing from the *forbid* construction in its proposition, but parallel to “forbid something”, “prohibit something” is also correct. Wu’s study and other studies of this kind often

go beyond the superficiality of the dictionary-style definitions, but they are more theoretically oriented and not based on data of real language use.

Another study on directive SAVs carried out by Zhong and Pan's (2005) is especially relevant to the current study. By analyzing the sentence frameworks of *order*, *command* and *tell*, they (Zhong & Pan, 2005) find that semantic properties and syntactic patterns are closely related, that the semantic properties of SAVs can provide information for its sentence framework and pattern, and that SAVs of similar semantic meaning tend to have the same syntactic pattern. Because of such findings, this study will hypothesize that the semantic meaning of directive SAVs can be partly or wholly predictable from their basic syntactic structures.

2.5.1.4 Recent corpus-based empirical studies of English SAVs

Wierzbicka's systematic semantic study of English SAVs has led to a substantial body of findings from lexical studies of English SAVs. The 230 English SAVs from Wierzbicka's dictionary have been studied quantitatively by Sui *et al.* (2004) in terms of their frequency in a nautical English corpus (NEC), and in the first parts of two general English language corpora, BROWN and LOB, which are referred to as BROWNA and LOBA in their study. Their corpus-based study of English SAVs in nautical English focused on etymology, semantic elements and syntactic structures (Sui *et al.*, 2004). A dramatic difference in the frequency of uses of SAVs in NEC, BROWNA and LOBA was found; that is, the frequency of SAVs in NEC is much lower than that in BROWNA and LOBA. Sui *et al.* (2004) conclude that the reason for such a difference lies in the objective features of the legislative documents included in NEC. In NEC, colloquial SAVs such as *say*, *tell* and *ask* were found to be substituted with SAVs of high formality, authority, accuracy, reliability and objectivity, for example *declare*, *report* and *enquire*. Since colloquial English is more subjective, SAVs which are used to express a psychological state, attitude or feeling are more frequently used in general English.

Herbst *et al.*'s (2004) valency dictionary provides a sound and comprehensive description of the valency properties of a large number of English verbs, adjectives and nouns. In this dictionary, the

valency complements of the most commonly used SAVs are categorized by word-class, distinguishing sentence elements by phrases and clauses. The complementation patterns of each verb are identified and explained with examples taken from the COBUILD/Birmingham corpus. Each lexical entry of the dictionary contains the valency patterns including its obligatory, contextually optional and purely optional complements, the meaning of a word in a particular pattern and information on its collocational range and semantic roles. All these are represented in the form of complement inventories for each listed lexical unit. Following the complement inventory, the valency specifications regarding the particular patterns in which a lexical item can occur are also indicated with examples. Undoubtedly, this dictionary is not only a valuable tool that enables language learners to write grammatically correct and idiomatic English, but widely used as the basis for further research in the field of verb, adjective and noun complementation (cf. Herbst, 2007; Götz-Votteler, 2007; Renate 2013; Mindt, 2007).

2.5.2 Studies extending SAV analysis to Chinese

In the last two decades, a considerable number of studies have been published in which Chinese SAVs are investigated as a special subject within and across languages. The study of Chinese SAVs has expanded into cognitive linguistics (e.g. Du, 2004; Wang, 2005; Wu, 2008; Jin, 2009; Ou, 2010; Zhong, 2007, 2008). The basic assumption of cognitive linguistics is that human language reflects the way people experience the world and the linguistic structural characteristics of language are determined by many factors including social structure, perception, emotions, cognitive development and reasoning (cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987). Most of these cognitive researches on Chinese SAVs are associated with semantic meaning and usage as illustrated in the following sub-sections.

2.5.2.1 Cognition-based semantic study of English and Chinese SAVs

Zhong (2007, 2008) has carried out systematic studies of the whole set of Chinese SAVs within a cognitive linguistics framework, aiming at providing detailed information about the usage of Chinese SAVs in Chinese cultural contexts, which has drawn great attention. In a series of Zhong's

published research, SAVs in English and Chinese are compared and contrasted and some typical English SAVs are investigated from a cognitive point of view (e.g. Zhong, 2004, 2007; Zhong & Li, 2004; Zhong & Pan, 2005). Zhong (2004) has compared the structure of the information transmission and semantic cognition of *tell* and *gaosu*, and *inquire* and *dating* in English and Chinese aiming at setting up corresponding structure of expression. He has found that the features of the informative transmission mainly reflect in its process, and the features of the semantic cognition mainly reflect in the inner meaning of a verb and expressive aspects of syntax (Zhong, 2004).

Zhong (2007) has also undertaken a cognition-based semantic analysis to investigate the semantic cognitive structure of SAVs in English passives and Chinese '*Bei*' Sentences, from three aspects including lexical meaning, syntactic structure and the relationship of different national cultures and thought. Zhong (2007) claims that there exists a dramatic difference between English passives with SAVs and Chinese '*Bei*' Sentences with SAVs in the grammatical semantic cognitive structure and syntactical structures. Since, having evolved from ancient Chinese, the lexical meaning of '*Bei*' in Chinese has a semantic component of 'unfortunate', 'unexpected' and 'suffer', the construction of '*Bei*' Sentences is much limited to unfortunate events. However, there is no such limitation to English passives. Thus Chinese '*Bei*' Sentences are used less frequently than English passives. Different culture and ways of thinking are another cause of such difference. Chinese speakers tend to emphasize the performer who performs the act and thus need to make the performer clear in the '*Bei*' Sentences. When the performer is unclear, 'someone', 'people', 'we' and 'others' are normally used as the performer to maintain the active form of sentences. Since Chinese passives are not limited by syntactical structures, Chinese notional passive sentences are observed to occur more frequently than English notional passive sentences.

Furthermore, Zhong and Li (2004), based on the distance iconicity, directions of object moving and imagine schema of cognitive linguistics, have analyzed the semantic cognitive construction of 27 English SAVs which can be used in Verb Noun Noun (VNN) construction. VNN construction which includes double-object construction and object-complement construction, sharing the characteristics of "giving", was recommended as an efficient method to interpret the two

constructions construed by English SAVs" (Zhong & Li, 2004). By analyzing the sentence frameworks of 'order', 'command' and 'tell', Zhong and Pan (2005) found that semantic properties and syntactic patterns are closely related and semantic properties of SAVs can provide information to its sentence framework and pattern and SAVs of similar semantic meaning tend to have same syntactic pattern. Such findings support the hypothesis of this study that the semantic meaning of directive SAVs can be partly or wholly predictable from their basic syntactic structures.

Zhong's studies have provided fresh insights into the distinction between cultural conceptualizations of SAVs in English and Chinese from a cognitive point of view and have greatly contributed to the theoretical development of Chinese SAV studies.

2.5.2.2 Substantial syntactic and semantic studies of Chinese SAVs

It has to be pointed out that there are an increasing number of Chinese scholars who study the syntactic features of Chinese SAVs. Wu (2011) has analyzed the explicit performative structure of SAVs in Chinese (我+言说动词[一般现在时、陈述语气、主动语态] (I+V[simple present, indicative, active]) by separating the syntax from pragmatics. Wu (2011, p. 218) argues that a single SAV does not "perform its reflective function online unless it occurs in an explicit performative structure". In the previous studies, reflective function online is treated as a property of a single SAV, which has technical defects and ignores the syntactical features and pragmatic function of the explicit performative structure. Wu (2011) claims that the explicit performative structure should be treated as an independent cognitive construction which can convey the pragmatic meaning of online reflexivity. By doing so, we can avoid adding new meanings to a single SAV and explain the true/false sentence pattern related to the Chinese embedded clause. Explicit performative structures are considered to be at the interface of syntax and pragmatics. On the one hand, the construction of explicit performatives is restricted by syntactical rules. On the other hand, factors related to the pragmatic meaning of online reflexivity conveyed by explicit performatives in turn can influence or determine which Chinese SAV can be used in explicit performative structure.

Tao and Jiang (2013) explore the Chinese SAV *qing* (request) in terms of its semantic meaning and sum up the features of semantic valence of *qing* in four different senses. *Qing* is a polysemous and its basic senses are categorized as $qing_1$ (request), $qing_2$ (invite), $qing_3$ (entertain or treat), and $qing_4$ (as a politeness marker indicating that the addresser hopes that addressee will do something). When *qing* is used as an imperative verb (request), the features of its valency complements are summarized: "(1) the agent is a noun, often denoting a person, or an animate or personified organization; (2) the patient is also a noun, denoting a person or an animate or personified organization plus a verbal phrase/another noun + 假[*jia*](*holiday*)". Tao and Jiang's analyses provide support for machine recognition of *qing* as a polysemy, which is one of the problems computer must encounter in natural language processing.

Moreover, Xiao (2010, p. 170) has investigated the structure and establishment of a "Semantic Web System of Chinese SAVs" which is considered to be the essential component of the whole Semantic Web system. Based on the analysis of the process of vocabulary categorization of 16 SAVs from the *request* group, Xiao (2010) finds that by centring on the semantic word model of primary words and adjusting their various affiliated semantic components, a radiation pattern of SAVs presenting family resemblance relation can be created and expanded. This may be applied to the computerized processing of natural language especially semantic identification.

Notably, many efforts have been made to develop a paraphrase model for Chinese SAVs. Chang (2008), in his PhD dissertation, provides a multi-dimensional integrated description of the lexical, grammatical and pragmatic meanings of Chinese SAVs by means of a contrastive sememe analysis and valency analysis. In Chang's (2008) contrastive study of the valency of Chinese and Russian SAVs, the principal semantic components of 718 Chinese SAVs, including 200 Chinese directive SAVs, are analyzed in terms of the conditions for the action, the subject of the action, the manner, the object and relation of the action, the purpose and result of the action. Chang has drawn a comprehensive picture of semantic components of Chinese SAVs.

According to Chang (2008), from the deep syntactic structure, Chinese SAVs require three essential complements: the agent or doer who causes an action to happen ($NP_{(agent)}$) and which is

used at the beginning of a sentence; the content of the action ($NP_{(content)}$) following a verb; and the recipient ($NP_{(recipient)}$) which is placed between the verb and the content of the action. But the three complements are not necessarily represented in the surface structures and the positions of the three complements might change. Altogether, eight valency patterns for Chinese directive SAVs are identified by Chang (2008, pp. 315-321):

- $NP_{(agent)}$ +VP + $NP_{(recipient)}$ + $NP_{(content)}$
- $NP_{(agent)}$ + xiang $NP_{(recipient)}$ +VP + $NP_{(content)}$ (1) (The content is realized by a verb phrase)
- $NP_{(agent)}$ + xiang $NP_{(recipient)}$ +VP + $NP_{(content)}$ (2) (The content is realized by a noun phrase)
- $NP_{(agent)}$ + VP + $NP_{(content)}$ (1) (The content is realized by a verb phrase)
- $NP_{(agent)}$ + VP + $NP_{(content)}$ (2) (The content is realized by a noun phrase)
- $NP_{(agent)}$ +VP + $NP_{(recipient)}$
- $NP_{(agent)}$ + xiang $NP_{(recipient)}$ +VP
- $NP_{(agent)}$ +VP

Chang's categorization of complements by semantic roles helps to explain the different usage of the five different types of Chinese SAVs, one of which is directive SAVs. Despite the full coverage of almost all the SAVs which are used in ordinary Chinese, there are, however, three weaknesses in Chang's semantic analysis of these verbs. First, the semantic analysis of these Chinese SAVs is very theoretical and the categorization is a general description of the valency patterns of all directive SAVs. No specifications or examples of valency patterns for specific Chinese SAVs are provided. Second, though the study includes a list of the meaning of all Chinese directive SAVs, it lacks detailed descriptions of their semantic components and other extralinguistic features. As a result, the definitions given in Chang's study do not fully describe the semantic properties of each individual verb and it is impossible to reflect the multi-dimensional nature of semantic links between the SAVs. Furthermore, circularity is obvious in the definitions, which are not sufficient to distinguish between semantically similar verbs. Thus, Chang's analysis of semantic meaning and valency patterns is not able to show differences in syntactic structures and semantic meaning among Chinese directive SAVs, especially those that are semantically closely related to each other.

2.5.2.3 Contrastive analysis of English and Chinese SAVs

In addition, many efforts have been made to compare and contrast Chinese SAVs with English SAVs, especially in terms of their syntactic properties. Researchers from many different perspectives have increasingly investigated English and Chinese SAVs within and across languages, and have increasingly utilized SAVs as an analytical tool to explore human action and communication. Qi (2008), based on a comparative analysis of repetition of SAVs in English and Chinese, observes that repetition of SAVs occurs much more frequently in Chinese than in English. Repetition of SAVs in English tends to be avoided or when it is necessary, it is more likely to be omitted, replaced or realized through the use of adverbs such as *again*, *again and again*, *once again over and over* and *once more*. Such differences, as Qi concludes, are largely due to the different language systems. Chinese is a syllabic writing system in which expression patterns of duality, antithesis and repetition have been promoted and widely welcomed since ancient times. Furthermore, there is no limitation to the number and forms of verbs in one sentence in Chinese. However, in contrast, English language is strictly governed by grammatical rules. The person, number, voice, mood, tense and aspect of an English verb in a sentence are determined and influenced by other components of the sentence. As a result, repetition of SAVs in English is relatively limited. Qi and Zhong (2010) have examined the overlapping structure of SAVs in English and Chinese from the perspectives of style, grammatical structure, semantics and cognition and identified the general differences of SAVs between the two languages.

English and Chinese word classes (or parts of speech) have been analyzed in great detail in a considerable number of English and Chinese grammars (cf. Downing & Locke, 2006; Gianninoto, 2014; Morrison, 2008; Quirk *et al.* 1972; Jackson, 2005; Wang, 2016; Wardhaugh, 1995; Yip & Don, 2006). As Allerton (2006, p. 301) points out,

> All English verbs share syntactic and inflectional features of a very basic kind (such as their range of tensed and untensed forms, and their modification with time adverbials), but they differ radically in their requirements for accompanying noun phrases and/or prepositional phrases (with functions such as subject, object, prepositional object, etc.) that they require and/or permit.

Unlike English verbs, however, Chinese verbs have no inflection, and they also differ in their requirements for accompanying noun phrases, prepositional phrases or verb phrases (Ross & Ma, 2006).

The next section explains scholars' perceptions of the prominence of directives in legislation as well as the function of directive SAVs in legislative texts, as an understanding of the nature of legal language is crucial to the analysis of the semantic and syntactic features of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative discourse.

2.6 Directive SAVs in the legal genre

2.6.1 Linguistic features of legislative language

The uses of directive SAVs are highly conventionalized and genre-specific. Directive SAVs have been found to be frequently used in written legal texts, especially legislative texts (Cao, 2007). This is largely due to the fact that law depends upon the performative and normative nature of language to obtain legal effects and legal consequences. As the primary function of law consists in the ordering of human relations and the restoration of social order when it breaks down (Danet, 1980), legal philosophers (cf. Danet, 1985; Cao, 2007) agree that language used from law or legal sources is normative, prescriptive, directive and imperative to create norms for guiding human behaviour and regulating human relations.

Some works have shown convincingly that directivity is the primary illocutionary force of legislative language (e.g. Hiltunen, 1997). Trosborg's (1991, p. 65) study which centres on regulative and constitutive functions of the language of the law and the realization patterns of directive acts, finds that the language of the law characteristically selects patterns of directives which differ in their level of directness from the patterns typically selected in everyday conversational English. As Danet (1980, p. 461) argues, "directives, which are future-oriented speech acts, seeking to change the world, to get someone to do something, [are] most prominent in legislation that impose obligations".

The prominence of directives in legislation is mainly due to the nature and function of legislation. Legislation is considered to be "a prime example of 'saying as doing'" (Cao, 2007, p. 21). When analyzed in terms of speech acts, a legislative text as a whole is considered to be a speech act which performs the act of enacting, which is called a "macro-speech act" by Kurzon (1999, p. 123). Apart from the macro-speech act, a number of further speech acts called "micro-speech acts" are involved in a piece of legislation (Kuzon, 1999, p. 123). The principal micro-speech acts are commands, permissions and prohibitions (Kuzon, 1999). Commands are found in those statutory provisions that lay down certain obligatory forms of behaviour which persons and bodies mentioned in the statute have to abide by. The speech act of permission, on the other hand, allows persons and bodies to carry out certain acts, while the speech act of prohibition occurs when a statutory provision forbids persons or bodies from carrying out a specific act (Kuzon, 1999).

As discussed earlier in Section 2.4, cultures and languages differ in conceptualizing and expressing directive speech acts. There has been a heated debated about whether "there is a universalism in legislative speech acts and a tendency to use direct performatives and speaker-based modals in statutes to signal degrees of power distance and directness" (Ni & Sin, 2010, p. 382). Maley (1994, p. 21) argues that English performativity and modality are the main linguistic means to express "the institutional ideology of the role relationships involved in legislative rule-making".

Chinese has been found to be similar to English in performing legislative speech acts. Ni and Sin (2010, p. 382) have conducted a synchronic comparison between Chinese and English statutes and a diachronic comparison between the original and current versions of Chinese statutes on intellectual property rights. The findings reveal that the distribution of the four illocutionary forces (obligation, right, prohibition and permission) and materialization of legislative speech acts in Chinese statutes are very similar to those in British statutes. Ni and Sin have discovered (2010) that both Chinese and British statutes tend to use direct performatives carrying legislative force and speaker-based modals to perform legislative speech acts, which confirms and substantiates the arguments made by earlier studies (cf. Cao, 2009; Kurzon, 1986; Trosborg, 1995).

Therefore, English and Chinese directive SAVs are one of the main means of performing directive speech acts, including "identifying" rights and duties along with "empowering" those rights and duties (Maley, 1994, p. 20). As reviewed, English and Chinese directive SAVs are considered as the main directive IFIDs and performative markers; there is no question that the directive SAVs in a legal text are recognized as crucial terms that have to be assimilated and dealt with in the legal translation. However, despite the importance of directive SAVs in legal translation, there are very few studies on English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative discourse. In fact, since directive SAVs express the legal force to the legislation, mistranslation of directive SAVs, including semantic and syntactic ambiguity, may have devastating consequences. Thus, it is crucially important for a legal translator to have a correct understanding and a contrastive awareness of directive SAVs in English and Chinese particularly their syntactic features in legislative discourse. Therefore, linguistic approaches to studying directive SAVs in legislative texts can lead to important insights, particularly regarding legal translation between English and Chinese.

The following discussion turns to an overview of research relevant to the translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese in legislative texts, which can help to develop responses to the translation problems arising in the contrastive analysis of Chinese directive SAVs and their English translations, including the choice of translation equivalent and valency patterns.

2.6.2 Legal translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese

The readership for the translated English and Chinese laws has expanded rapidly, comprising not merely academics and lawyers, but a worldwide audience of anyone who is interested in Chinese and English legislation. However, the quality of many Chinese and English translations is not acceptable. A substantial number of inaccurate translations or translation errors are related to directive SAVs translation. In fact, owing to the increased trend towards "a globalization of social-cultural, business and communication issues, law is fast assuming an international perspective rather than retaining a purely national concern" (Bhatia *et al.*, 2008, p. 5). The translation of law is playing a much more important role in the increasingly globalized world than ever before. Accordingly, there is an increasing international need for accurate and authoritative legal

translation between Chinese and English in the context of cooperation and collaboration in international trade and business, and the exchange between different peoples and countries. For example, the demand for translation of Australian laws and regulations is growing with the preparation for access by China and other countries. The demand for translation of Chinese laws has also risen in recent years and a multitude of Chinese legislation is translated into English and other European languages.

The main difficulties in translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese are semantic, syntactic, pragmatic and stylistic. In terms of semantics, English and Chinese have their own complex and unique directive SAVs and many do not have corresponding terms in another language. Some directive SAVs in one language have linguistic equivalents in the other language, but these translation equivalents only carry partial equivalent meanings or are sometimes not functionally equivalent in a legal context. In other words, these translation equivalents may be semantic equivalents, but are only partial equivalents in their conceptual or referential dimensions. For example, the Chinese *buzhun* and *jinzhi* are not identical conceptually to the English word *prohibit*, but they are used as linguistic equivalents of *prohibit* in translation from English into Chinese.

Furthermore, English and Chinese directive SAVs have distinctive sentence patterns such as different valency complements for English and Chinese SAVs and the extensive use of the passive voice with SAVs in legal English (Cao, 2007). This constitutes a source of difficulty in legal translation between English and Chinese directive SAVs. The review has shown that SAV valency pattern studies are as yet incomplete; extending the research, in this study, the valency patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs at the syntactic level will be investigated to capture their syntactic similarities and differences in legislative discourse.

In terms of pragmatic translation difficulty, the illocutionary force as a pragmatic consideration is one of the most prominent linguistic features of legislative texts (Cao, 2007). As discussed earlier, directive SAVs are one of the main linguistic means in legal language to perform acts imposing obligations and rights. Even English and Chinese directive SAVs which have similar semantic

meanings, may carry different illocutionary force and create different legal effects. Moreover, many English and Chinese directive SAVs have several uses and can name different types of illocutionary acts with different illocutionary forces. Some directive SAVs are systematically ambiguous between several illocutionary points, and when circumstances change, they can be interpreted as different kinds of speech acts. Thus, a simple one-to-one SAV-to-action correspondence is not possible (Liu, 2010, p. 1802) and a simple English SAV-to-Chinese SAV correspondence is not possible either.

Generally speaking, both English and Chinese legal texts are characterized by "an impersonal style with the extensive use of declarative sentences pronouncing rights and obligations" (Cao, 2007, p. 22). But each language has its distinct features. For example, English legislative texts are charactierized by long and complex sentences with extensive use of long modifiers (Cao, 2007), whereas Chinese usually avoid long sentence with long modifier, and short sentences separated by comma are much more common in Chinese legislative texts.

Moreover, each of Chinese and English legal language has its own distinct style resulting from different legal systems. Legal translation between English and Chinese is meant to translate within the contexts of two different legal systems, especially when translating directive SAVs with strong socio-political and cultural constraints. As proposed by Zweigert and Kötz, (1992, pp. 68-73, quoted by Cao, 2007, p. 25), legal systems can be classified based on a set of criteria including "(1) the historical development of a legal system; (2) the distinctive mode of legal thinking; (3) the distinctive legal institutions; (4) the sources of law and their treatment; and (5) the ideology". Most English-speaking countries, including Australia, belong to the Common Law legal tradition, while China is a mixed jurisdiction with the influence from traditional Chinese law, Civil Law and Socialist Law (Cao, 2007, p. 25). The conceptualization of directive speech acts and the lexicalization of directive SAVs in English and Chinese are affected by these cultural, historical and social factors.

Each legal system has a vocabulary to express concepts and "has techniques for expressing rules and interpreting them" (David & Brierley, 1985, p. 19). Chinese and English legal languages are

products of different histories and cultures, and legal traditions. The style of legislative drafting of Chinese Law codes and statutes is concise, while Common Law statutes are precise (Tetley, 2000). Typically, no definitions are provided in Chinese Law statutes and rules are set out in broad general phrases (Tetley, 2000). By contrast, detailed definitions are provided in Common Law statutes and each specific principle states "lengthy enumerations of specific applications or exceptions, proceeded by a catch-all phrase and followed by qualifications" (Tetley, 2000, p. 703).

In his comparison between Common Law in Australia and Socialist Law in China, Cao (2007) shows that the legal traditions of the Australian and Chinese systems underline the different linguistic styles of the two legal cultures. Common Law in Australia is forensic whereas Socialist Law in China is scholastic (Cao, 2007). In Chinese law, interpretation of the legal norm entails determining unforeseen and future problems. The thinking is abstract and system-orientated while the method is deductive (Cao, 2007). By contrast, in the Australian legal system, the reasoning is inductive. The different styles of English language and Chinese legal texts are to some extent reflected in the syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs. This study will explain some semantic and syntactic differences of English and Chinese directive SAVs through these social, cultural and legal differences.

As both the Common Law and Chinese legal systems, and the English and Chinese languages are unrelated (Groot, 1988; Cao, 2007), translating between English and Chinese directive SAVs in legal texts is difficult. The peculiar features of the semantics, syntax, pragmatics and style of Chinese and English languages impose great difficulties for translators. As a result of different legal traditions and developmental processes, the translation task between English and Chinese becomes much more complex than simply reproducing in the target language the formal equivalent expressed in the original legislative texts. But rather, the translation should convey appropriately in the target language "the pragmatic and functional intentions and implications of the original document in question" (Bhatia, 2008, p. 8).

As Vanderveken (1991, p. 137) suggests, "the purpose of the translation of a performative verb is to exhibit clearly in the syntactic structure of its translation the logical form of the illocutionary

acts which it names". Illocutionary acts are the basic units of meaning in the use and comprehension of language and they are also the units of indirect or direct translation (Vanderveken 1991, p. 137) Therefore any adequate translation of an utterance of a sentence of a language into another language should strive with the greatest possible efficiency to express as completely and precisely as possible the nature of the intended primary illocutionary force of that utterance (Vanderveken, 1991, p. 138).

In order to adequately translate directive SAVs between English and Chinese, it is essential for the translator to capture the similarities and differences in the basic semantic components and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs as well as the components of illocutionary forces or senses named by these verbs. In addition, when it comes to the legal genre, translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese is not a mere semantic endeavour, many other important variables, including legal tradition, culture and ideology in different legal systems, should also be taken into consideration (Hu, 2009; Jiang, 2003; Newmark, 1997; Venuti, 1995).

2.7 Conclusion

To sum up, SAVs are closely related to culturally-specific communication behaviours and reflect cultural conceptualizations of human action and interaction. Thus, they are viewed as a "valuable source of insight into the culture" (Wierzbicka, 1986, p. 365). As a special type of verbs with great utility in identifying illocutionary force, SAVs in both English and Chinese have attracted increasing scholarly attention within the literature about speech act theory in the last decade, and significant body of literature on SAVs has emerged. Investigations of large lists of English and Chinese SAVs from different perspectives have considerably broadened the methods and analysis of researches in regards to the semantic meaning, syntactic features and pragmatic functions of SAVs. However, while the literature on English and Chinese SAVs includes a substantial number of studies which focus on a certain type of SAVs (e.g. Du, 2004; Monville-Burston, 1993; Sun, 2001; Waugh, 1998; Zhong, 2004), such as expressive SAVs (Chen, 2007) and commissive SAVs (Zhang, 2007), studies on directive SAVs in either English or Chinese remain, overall, rare.

There is, further, a lack of large-scale corpus-based studies focusing on the semantic and syntactic aspects of English and Chinese directive SAVs. Most semantic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs is based on researchers' introspection or intuition rather than on a theoretically-driven interpretation of naturally occurring texts, and the definitions of SAVs offered do not go beyond the superficiality of the dictionary-style definitions. Certain literature argues, however, that as the meanings of SAVs are usually embedded in contexts, their complicated meanings cannot be so simply explained but should be explained with regard to their contexts, collocations and frequencies (Zhang, 2014). This rarity motivates this study. The empirical examination of English and Chinese directive SAVs in this study is likely to fill this gap and make a significant contribution to the literature.

Moreover, syntactical structures of directive SAVs have mainly been investigated in order to classify SAVs, and analysis of the relationship between a SAV and elements of its surrounding sentence is rare. However, as the semantic meaning of a directive SAV is reflected in its syntactic pattern, to find out what a directive SAV means, we should look closely at its syntactic patterns in naturally occurring texts in a large corpus. This is more likely to give objective and reliable results and lead to a better understanding of the meaning of directive SAVs but there is a dearth of such research. This study responds to that gap.

Furthermore, very few corpus-based contrastive studies deal with the relationship between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of directive SAVs in English and Chinese by providing detailed descriptions and comparisons of both linguistic and extralinguistic features of English and Chinese SAVs. Since the meaning of the directive SAVs is closely related to context, institutional facts and constitution rules, in order to fully explore the meaning and function of directive SAVs in this study, both linguistic and non-linguistic factors will be taken into consideration within a contrastive semantic analysis.

This chapter has found that most of the current studies on directive SAVs in English and Chinese are theoretical rather than data-oriented, and their findings are difficult to directly apply to legal translation, although the chapter has also found a need for greater accuracy in the translation

between directive SAVs in Chinese and English-language legal texts. Owing to the fact that directive SAVs play a significant role in performing legislative speech acts and creating legal effects, to address the dramatic increase in the demand for translation of legal texts between Chinese and English, the literature on semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs needs more in-depth development, especially in the legal genre; this study makes a contribution to the literature in this regard. Inaccurate translation of directive SAVs can not only lead to distortions of semantic meanings or messages, but also result in serious legal consequences. In short, the importance of accurate and faithful translation of directive SAVs goes to the heart of the translation of legal directive speech acts.

3 ANALYTIC METHODS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS AND VALENCY ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

The methodology of this study involves four analytic methods: componential analysis, valency analysis, contrastive analysis and corpus-based analysis. The primary aim of this chapter is to present methods of analysis that can afford insights into the exploration of the semantic and syntactic properties of English and Chinese directive SAVs: componential analysis and valency analysis. In this study, these two analytic methods will serve as the basis for the cross-cultural contrastive study of English and Chinese directive SAVs. Section 3.2 will discuss the theoretical background of the componential analysis and the sememe model for the semantic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs employed in this study. Main issues of valency analysis will be presented in Section 3.3, including the distinctions between complements and adjuncts, and various tests for identifying complements.

3.2 Methods of componential analysis

3.2.1 Definition of componential analysis

Componential analysis, also called sememe analysis, is an analytic method in which "the meanings of words are analyzed not as unitary concepts but as complexes made up of components of meaning which are themselves semantic primitives" (Kempson, 1977, p. 18). This approach suggests that words are complexes consisting of a group of components which set the lexical interaction. In componential analysis, the meaning of a word is described and analyzed as a combination of elementary meaning components called semantic features or semantic components (Greeaerts, 2006, p. 709). According to Greeraerts (2006, p. 709), these basic semantic components are supposed to be finite and primitive "in the sense that they are the undefined building blocks of lexical-semantic definitions", and thus the terms 'semantic primitives' and 'atomic predicates' are

often in the literature used to refer to the basic semantic components. This atomic metaphor, as Hu (2009) suggests, understands the meaning of a word as a molecule which can be further decomposed into several atoms with distinctive features or semantic parts.

3.2.2 Limitations and advantages of componential analysis for semantic studies

Componential analysis originates from the Danish linguist Louis Hjelmslev (1953) who introduced the contrastive method into grammatical and semantic research. Since then European and American structuralist semantics have exerted a considerable impact on linguistic and literary studies of componential analysis (e.g., Pottier, 1964, 1965; Conklin, 1955; Coseriu, 1964, 1967; Goodenough, 1956; Greimas 1966; Lounsbury 1956). These scholars were motivated to develop componential analysis methods to provide a systematic analysis of the semantic relations within a lexical field.

A fully developed method emerged in America via the works of Goodenough (1956) and Lounsbury (1956) who provided theoretical and empirical elaborations of componential methods. But the major breakthrough in componential analysis did not occur until 1963 when Jerrold J. Katz and Jerry A. Fodor greatly extended componential analysis theory. In their article "*The structure of a semantic theory*", instead of analyzing a lexical field, Katz and Fodor (1963) proposed that the semantic components of the meanings of a word could be represented as part of a formalized dictionary, now sometimes called lexicon to distinguish it from ordinary dictionaries. Such dictionaries are now considered part of a formal grammar.

Although the developments of componential analytic methods have led away from the original Katzian model (see e.g. Greeraerts, 2006), Katz and Fodor's (1963) framework, which formalized componential meaning as part of a formal grammar, continued to be used as a fundamental approach in componential analysis (e.g., Leech, 1974; Lehrer, 1974).

One of the advantage of identifying undefined defining elements, i.e. sememes, in a componential analysis lies in the possibility of achieving noncircularity: definitions have no explanatory value in themselves if the definitional language and the defined language are identical (Greeraerts, 2006; see also Section 2.5.1). Avoiding circularity by using undefined definitional primitives requires

that “the set of primitives should be smaller than the set of words to be defined” (Greeraerts, 2006, p. 709). More particularly, a crucial restriction imposed on the set of primitive features is that any reductive or explanatory value in the set of undefined primitives is not allowed to be as large as the set of concepts to be defined (Greeraerts, 2006).

Many methods in formal grammar studies pay much more attention to the formalization of lexical and grammatical analyses than to the methods of establishing primitives (e.g. Pustejovsky, 1995; Chang, 2008; Goddard, 2003). A rigorous objective method for establishing the sememes in a componential analysis is lacking; rather, the process of defining and selecting sememes or primitives tends to be subjective and arbitrary depending on each researcher's purposes, cognition, culture, profession and so on (Lin, 1999). According to Lin (1999), the three main problems of componential analysis are uncertainty of the total number of primitives, arbitrary primitive selection and a lack of methods for describing non-conceptual or non-referential meanings such as sentimental colour. Nida (1975, pp. 61-63) also points out some limitations and difficulties of componential analysis, such as the lack of an adequate metalanguage, the fact that “some terms primarily differ only in degree or intensity”, “the treatment of semantic components is the diversity of viewpoints”, etc. Thus, the implementation of componential analysis in the literature is relatively limited. Function words or particles, for example, are not suitable for sememe analysis (Lin, 1999).

So what, then, is the justification for decomposing lexical meanings into a collection of primitive semantic elements? One of the basic antidecompositional reasoning is the referential connection problems between linguistic meaning of primitives and extralinguistic entity. When the gap between linguistic meaning and extralinguistic reality cannot even be bridged and explained for the primitives, how can the primitives contribute to noncircular definitions that could explain the gap between linguistic meaning and extralinguistic reality (Geeraerts, 2006)?

Since these antidecompositional questions were first proposed, many empirical studies on lexical meaning have confirmed and corroborated that componential analysis is an effective descriptive model for then identifying and distinguish meanings, particularly the meanings of semantically closely related lexical items (see Nida, 1975). Wierzbicka (1987) has undertaken an extensive study

of componential features in an analysis of the meanings of English SAVs. In this study, Wierzbicka (1987, p. 11) proposes that the meaning of English SAVs should be decomposed into semantic components made up of "a few simple sentences" rather than "two or three words" to portray the meanings of SAVs. For example, the common part of the English directive SAV *command* is portrayed as 'I want you to do it' and the additional semantic components of *command* are defined as 'I assume that I can cause you to do what I want you to do', 'I assume that I can cause you to do it by saying this in this way' and 'I say this, in this way, because I want to cause you to do it' (Wierzbicka, 1987, pp. 38-39). Such semantic components are called reductive paraphrases (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 12). In Wierzbicka's semantic dictionary, around 50 basic words, such as 'want', 'I', 'you', 'it', 'do' and 'assume', are employed to represent the semantic components of English SAVs, which effectively excludes the vicious circles within definitions that occur in most dictionaries. Moreover, since the SAVs in Wierzbicka's dictionary are all defined using the same basic units, the semantic similarities and differences and semantic relations between SAVs are clearly revealed.

Nida's (1975) *Componential Analysis of Meaning* is another important study in the field of componential analysis. In this study, he argues that the correspondences between the lexical units employed and the referents they designate are the basis on which the meaning or meanings of such lexical items can be acquired. In this spirit, Nida (1975, p. 64) has proposed four linguistic processes of componential analysis: "naming, paraphrasing, defining and classifying". Nida (1975) strongly emphasizes that contrasts are essential and crucial for determining the meanings, and in his procedures for determining meaning, close attention is given to paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of lexical units, as an expression may have different meanings in different syntactic position. Based on his research, Nida (1975, p. 207) provides a clear account of the importance of componential analysis in:

> (1) the description of language behaviour and predictions concerning it,
>
> (2) the detailed comparison of meanings, whether intralingually (i.e. within a single language) or extralingually (i.e. between languages, thus providing a more adequate basis for translational equivalences),
>
> (3) the judging of semantic compatibility, as an important feature of style, and

(4) treating figurative extensions of meaning.

Greeraerts (2006) takes a similar view on the significance of componential analysis, holding that componential analysis is one of the essential approaches in the description of semantic meaning in modern semantics, because sememe models are designed to find generic semantic components and differentiated semantic components among a group of words. According to Greeraerts (2006), on one hand, componential analysis is related to a traditional lexicographical practice that defines concepts in an analytical way by dividing them into smaller basic concepts, and on the other hand, componential analysis is derived from structural phonology which uses a restricted number of oppositions to describe the sound inventory of natural languages.

Though the epistemological view that there is a primitive set of basic features is still controversial, there is now wide-spread agreement in linguistics that methods of componential analysis can be used for descriptive formalism or as a heuristic instrument (Greeraerts, 2006; Greeraerts *et al.*, 1994). This is supported by Belfarhi (2013, p. 294) who claims that "modern semantic theories stand all on the principle of compositionality despite their different frameworks" and that componential analysis has become "a basis of the semantic analysis". In this respect, Violi (2001, p. 53) also states:

> The meaning of each term can be analyzed by a set of meaning component or properties of a more general order, some of which will be common to various terms in the lexicon. There may in the lexicon. There may also be specific restrictions, for instance the nature and structure of features, and the procedures by which they are selected. However, the term componential analysis is often used to refer not only to simple decomposition into semantic components, but to models with much more powerful theoretical assumptions.

Semantic studies which analyze meanings obtained from a lexical decomposition demonstrate that componential analysis can explain meaning through working out possible semantic traits and that it provides an important descriptive model for understanding: it is thus an epistemological necessity (Kempson, 1997; Carter, 1998; Belfarhi, 2013).

The componential analysis enables the researchers to explore the deep surface structure of words through building semantic interrelations between words (Belfarhi, 2013). In this study, the analytic

method of componential analysis could help to achieve further-reaching conclusions in the current semantic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs by deepening a semantic analysis into primitives and further illustrating semantic components and structures within primitives, which can systematically reflect the relations and differences among directive SAVs within and across the two languages. Furthermore, subtle semantic differences among semantically related directive SAVs in two languages can become perfectly transparent by decomposing them into parts that are represented with relatively clear and simple words. Therefore, componential analysis is of great significance in contrastive analysis between English and Chinese.

3.2.3 Using the sememe model for a semantic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs

It is widely accepted that SAVs are complex and elusive, as the meaning of SAVs involves not only linguistic meaning, but also extralinguistic meaning including institutional facts and social conventions (see Section 2.2). The methodological openness of the process of defining and selecting primitives allows researchers to determine the semantic components that are applicable to their studied items, for example depending on study purposes, languages under investigation, cultural factors and so on. It seems clear that a well-established collection of basic semantic elements that are applicable to both English and Chinese could be helpful to identifying and analyzing semantic information, both linguistic and extralinguistic. Therefore, in the current study, a componential analysis will be the optimal and the most efficient way of exploring the distinct semantic features of semantically closely related English and Chinese directive SAVs within and across the two languages. In this study, the selection of basic semantic components will be carried out on the basis of Searle's (1969) twelve principles for the classification of SAVs (see Section 2.3.2). Harras and Winkler's (1994) typology of resource situations of SAVs, and Wierzbicka's (1987) reductive paraphrasing of English SAVs, which are applicable to both English and Chinese.

Sememe determination is largely based on authoritative dictionary definitions, but sememe analysis of words is different from their general dictionary definitions. General definition normally explains the meaning of one word at a time, but sememe analysis involves a group of related words

and the discourse around a language unit helps determine their interpretation (Hu, 2009). On the basis of mutual contrast in the functional oppositions, the semantically related directive SAVs in English and Chinese can be accurately defined and distinguished.

The descriptions used in a sememe analysis can be linguistic descriptions as in Wierzbicka (1987) or indicated with symbols (e.g. Chang, 2008). In this study, the description of the semantic meaning of each directive SAV under investigation will start with semantic primitives represented by symbols (as set out in Section 3.3.4), and then a linguistic description for the semantic components indicated by the symbols will be provided.

For the purpose of this study, a comprehensive sememe model combining the traditional sememe model and the essential conditions of use of the directive SAVs is formulated. Based on Harras and Winkler's (1994) four roles: the role of the speaker, the role of the hearer, the propositional content and the speaker's communicative attitude (see Section 2.5.1.2), four main semantic components of directive SAVs are identified: the subject or speaker, the predicate, the object or hearer, and the cause, result or purpose.

In addition to these four main semantic components, this study's sememe model also takes into account some essential parameters that represent important extralinguistic features of directive SAVs including the emotional colour of the speaker, speech style, the degree of optionality conveyed by a speech act, the degree of cost-benefit of the requested action for the speaker and addressee, the power relationship between the speaker and addressee in a particular interactional exchange and the expected time of reaction from the addressee, as suggested by Searle (1969) and Wierzbicka (1987). For example, a directive SAV may have an approving or derogatory sense, or may be used in a formal or informal style. Since performing a directive speech act by uttering a directive SAV essentially involves institutional facts, these extralinguistic features are crucial for identifying the semantic meaning and functions of SAVs and should be taken into account. The sememe model in this study is represented by notation within a lexical field to define concepts of English and Chinese directive SAVs. The components within the sememe model for directive SAVs can be summarized as follows:

Meaning of the Verb = [Subject/Speaker] ∧ [manner] Predicate ∧ [Object/ Addressee] ∧ [Cause ∨ Result ∨ Aim/Purpose] ∧ [Optionality] ∧ [Power Relationship] ∧ [Benefit] ∧ [Colour] ∧ [Formal] ^ [Present Orientedness of Addressee's Reaction] ∧ [Performative Usage]

"Subject/Speaker" refers to the speaker or agent of the speaking action represented by the predicate. "Object/Addressee" of a SAV means the hearer and content. "Cause ∨ Result ∨ Aim/Purpose" shows the cause, result and purpose of the illocutionary act denoted by a directive SAV. "Optionality" concerns the mode of achievement of the illocutionary point: whether the addressee is given an option of refusal (see Section 2.4.1). "Power Relationship" indicates whether a hierarchical relationship is presupposed between the speaker and the addressee. "Benefit" indicates the party to whom the desired action represents a benefit. "Colour" concerns the emotional colour of the SAVs, such as approving or derogatory meaning. "Formal" indicates whether the directive SAV in question implies an official or formal character. "Present Orientedness of Addressee's Reaction" refers to the expected time of reaction from the addressee: whether the utterance of the SAV is meant to trigger immediate action. "Performative Usage" indicates whether the investigated SAV can be used performatively, i.e. in the first person present indicative form to indicate the nature of the utterance in which they occur (for more about the performative usage, see Section 2.2.2).

These semantic components represent the illocutionary purpose, intention, thoughts, emotions and various assumptions which are crucial semantic information for spelling out all the aspects of the meaning of English and Chinese directive SAVs in question. In Wierzbicka's (1987) explications of the semantic meaning of English SAVs, all these semantic components are discussed in order to state the full meaning of each verb. As Wierzbicka's (1987) dictionary shows, the semantic links and differences between related SAVs can be perfectly portrayed through decomposing them into semantic components.

In this study, the semantic meaning of English and directive SAVs in question will be identified and compared by means of decomposition into these essential semantic parts listed in the sememe

model. Abbreviating the model above, the following codes stand for the components of the sememe model:

{Verb}= [S] ∧ [manner] P ∧ [O/A] ∧ [Ca ∨ Res ∨ A] ∧ [Opt] ∧ [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ [Co] ∧ [F] ∧ [Pres] ∧ [Perf]

Further, in this method of coding for componential analysis, "{}" denotes the meaning of the verb. "∧" is the conjunction signal to connect each semantic component. "=" indicates the definition of the verb. "+" means the semantic component indicated exists in the meaning of the verb. "-" means the semantic component indicated does not exist in the meaning of the verb. "±" means the semantic component indicated may or may not exist in the meaning of the verb. "↑" shows a positive emotional colour such as approval and explicit meaning. "↓" shows a negative emotional colour such as derogation and implicit meaning.

These components are the most basic elements of linguistic action, and identifying them provides the basis for further semantic differentiation of English and Chinese directive SAVs. As can be seen from the above sememe model, in this study, a sentimental colour sememe and a style sememe are integrated into the sememe analysis of directive SAVs, aiming to overcome the shortages of some traditional sememe analysis methods and to bridge the gap between linguistic meaning and extralinguistic reality.

3.3 Methods of valency analysis

The methods of valency analysis follow closely from the modelling of verbs in valency theory. Valency, also called complementation, is a very important part of the lexis and grammar (Herbst *et al.*, 2004). The syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs can be best described in valency complementation patterns, because "valency theory goes beyond the concept of the observation of collocations and colligations, which only look at a word and a span of four to five words before and after this word, in that verb complementation is seen as central to sentence formation" (Reichardt, 2013, p. 8).

3.3.1 Methodology developed from valency theory

The notion of 'valency' was invented by Lucien Tesnière in his work "*Esquisse d'une syntaxe structural*" in 1953. Tesnière's notion of valence is based on dependency relations. As described by Vater (1973, p. 21), "each phrase (including the sentence as a special case of a phrase) is made up of words that are in dependency relations with each other". According to Tesnière (1959, p. 102), the verb forms the head of the phrase, and it has two types of dependents: 'actants' (complements) and 'circonstants' (adjuncts). The verb express the process, and the 'circonstants' express temporal, local and other circumstances of the process (Tesnière, 1959, p. 102). Only the elements that correspond to what in English grammar are called subject, direct object and indirect object are recognized as 'actants' in active sentences (Tesnière, 1959). It is the complements ('actants') that determine the valence of a verb and thus valence is defined by Tesnière (1959, p. 238) as the number of actants governed by the verb. Tesnière's choice of 'actants' is not widely accepted. Allerton (2006, p. 302) criticized this choice for not including other elements that are also essential to the verb, such as prepositional phrases ('*Alice relied on Barbara*') or even purely adverbial phrases ('*live at home'*).

Nevertheless, it is predominantly Tesnière's elaboration of the concept of valency that has been developed and expanded in studies of different languages, especially German and Chinese (e.g. Allerton, 1982, 2006; Emons, 1974, 1978; Engel, 1977; Gao *et al.* 2014; Herbst, 1987, 1988; Heringer, 1973; Kulikov, 2009; Luraghi, 2012; Matthews, 1981; Nichols *et al.*, 2004; Radek *et al.* 2010; Renate, 2013; Schumacher,1976; Wen, 1982; Zhu, 1978; Zhu, 1989). Emons (1974, 1978) was the first to develop a valency model for English verbs. According to Emons (1978, in Herbst, 2007, p. 18), valency theory is concerned with "the property of a predicate to demand a certain number of complements" to form phrases or clauses that are semantically complete. This view of valency is expressed in a similar way in Herbst *et al.*'s (2004, p. vii) definition of valency:

> Like atoms, words tend not to occur in isolation but to combine with other words to form larger units: the number and type of other elements with which a word can occur is a very important part of its grammar. As with atoms, the ability of words to combine in this way with other words can be termed valency.

The concept of valency has been further developed and applied to English verbs by Matthews (1981) and Allerton (1982, 2006), as well as to other word classes such as nouns and adjectives (e.g. Herbst, 1987, 1988; Herbst *et al*, 2004). Valency theory is summarized by Cornell (2005, p. 1110) in the following axiomatic statements:

- lexical items have the power to structure their surroundings syntactically and semantically;
- sentences are organized bottom up, from words to larger units;
- lexical items, in particular the verb, demand complements to create phrases that are semantically complete. Adjuncts can be added freely, giving additional and, in the case of the verb, circumstantial information;
- there is a qualitative difference between (lexically) incomplete ('unsaturated') elements in need of complementation and the phrases doing the completing;
- in some important respects, the complements are equal in their (structural or semantic) relation to their head (i.e. a flat structure).

The above statements clarify the main issues central to valency theory. Lexical items, particularly verbs, exhibit distinctive dependency properties according to their syntactic potential to combine with particular patterns of other sentence constituents. The lexicosyntactic property exhibited by verbs, "involves the relationship between, on the one hand, the different subclasses of a word-class (such as verb) and, on the other, the different structural environments required by those subclasses, these environments varying both in the number and in the types of element" (Allerton, 2006, p. 301).

The earliest valency study on Chinese verbs is Zhu's (1978) valency analysis of Chinese verbal structures with '*de*', which is mainly based on the syntactic necessity of the clause. Zhu's research initiated many subsequent studies of valences of Chinese verbs. The most representative analysis of the valency patterns in Chinese can be found in Fan (1996), Guo (1995), Shen (1998), Wang (1995), Wen (1982), Yuan (2010), Zhang (1998) and Zhu (1989).

Notably, there is a fierce debate over Tesnière's distinction between 'actants' and 'circonstants' among Chinese researchers. Zhu (1978) and some other researchers, including Shen (1998), Wen (1982) and Yuan (1998), have explicitly indicated that only noun phrases can be used as 'actants'. Yuan (1998) analyzes the valences of verbs from four levels: link, item, position and argument,

which are all defined as noun phrase elements. In Yuan's study, the four levels constitute a valency system, with the aim of reflecting the governing capabilities of Chinese verbs in different syntactic structures at different levels. The definition of the four levels in Yuan's study seems to be clear and explicit, but in most cases it can be very difficult to distinguish between these four levels. Furthermore, the claim that 'actants' can only be realized as noun phrases has been questioned and even criticized by a number of researchers, such as Fang (1996), Zhang and Wang (2007) and Zhong (2011), arguing that some other types of elements, including prepositional phrases, adjective phrases and adverbs, are also essential to the semantic meaning of the governing verbs in Chinese.

Fan (1996), for instance, identifies different elements and valency patterns of Chinese verbs by emphasizing the semantic meaning of sentence elements without considering their syntactic properties. Wang (1995) and Zhang (1998) adopt Helbig's (see Zhu, 1989) distinction: obligatory elaborator, optional elaborator and free modifier, in order not to involve word classes in their analysis of the valences of Chinese verbs. Zhang and Wang (2007) argue that the valents and obligatory elements of a verb in Chinese do not necessarily need to be realized by noun phrases.

Despite the continuous debate in literature about the category of obligatory elements of verbs and the distinction between obligatory and optional elements, there is agreement by Chinese researchers that only the obligatory elements which are essential to a Chinese verb can be the complements of the verb.

In valency theory, a lexical item can be a single word or a multi-word unit such as a phrasal verb or an idiom. According to Cornell (2005, p. 1110), "the crux of valency theory is centred around the notion that words – especially verbs – predetermine sentence structure". As Herbst *et al.* (2004, p. xxiv) point out, "the basic assumption of valency theory is that the verb occupies a central position in the sentence because the verb determines how many other elements have to occur in order to form a grammatical sentence". Different verbs may take different forms and kinds of complements, which gives rise to various complementation patterns or valency patterns (Gao *et al.*, 2014). But since the verb is always given a central or governing position in the sentence, the complements are considered as being dependent on the governing verb (Herbst *et al.*, 2004).

So far, due to the pivotal roles of verbs in sentences, the verb valency draws the most attention in the literature (cf. Comrie, 1993; Herbst *et al*, 2004; Heringer, 1993; Mattews, 2007; Èech *et al.* 2010; Liu, 2011; Gao *et al.*, 2014). There is a wide range of valency research from theoretical aspects of verb valency (e.g., see Foskett, 1971; Boas, 1980a, 1980b) to practical works, i.e. valency dictionaries (e.g., see Devos, Defrancq & Noel, 1996; Herbst *et al.*, 2004). Most relevantly for this thesis, some attempts have been made to use the analytic methods of valency theory to explore the semantic meaning of SAVs (e.g. Fan & Hu, 1995; Chen, 2003; Xu 2004). For example, Fan and Hu (1995; see also Chen, 2003) classify SAVs into avalent, monovalent, divalent and trivalent according to the number of complements required by a verb. In addition to these three types of verb valency, Reichardt (2013, p. 164) identifies two more types: 'zero-valent' and 'tetravalent' (though very rare).

Du (2004) has applied the theories of semantic valence, frame semantics and cognitive linguistics to the analysis of the semantic structure of SAVs of the *tell* group in English and of the *gaosu* group in Chinese, based on Wierzbicka's (1987) classification of SAVs. It has been found that *tell* is a trivalent verb taking three essential complements: agent, patient and recipient. *Gaosu* is described as consisting of two participants, one event, one telling relationship and one process. Such a study shows that much semantic, grammatical and syntactic information is provided by the valency complementation patterns.

Valency theory describes valency complements which have semantic functions, amongst others, and these play a significant role in meaning identification, as valency complements express structural connections and are necessary in a sentence to help complete the meaning of the governing verb. These sorts of syntactic and semantic connection and restrictions in sentence formation are the focus of the valency analytical method. Thus, it is ideally suited to explore the correlation between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs.

3.3.2 Main issues to the method of valency analysis - distinction between complements and adjuncts

The complements and adjuncts are two types of sentence elements which have been considered a principle of valency theory. An essential distinction between complements and adjuncts is distinctively the preserve of valency theory and crucial for the application of the method of valency analysis in the semantic and syntactic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs.

3.3.2.1 Definitions

The term 'complement' is commonly used to refer to sentence elements that are required by a verb to create a grammatically correct phrase or clause (Herbst *et al.*, 2004). In addition to complements, there is another type of sentence element, which is not determined by the governing verb to complete its meaning and thus is optional, often called an adjunct (Herbst *et al.*, 2004). Complements and adjuncts are two types of dependants of a governing verb.

In this study, the term 'complement' is used to refer to the sentence element required by a governing verb, and 'adjunct' is used to refer to the element that is free to appear or not appear, regardless of the specific verb (for various terms for the same elements, see Allerton, 2006; Baker, 1995; Halliday, 2014; Fan & Hu, 1995; Schweikert, 2005).

Whatever the terminology, there is consensus about the need for a distinction between these two kinds of elements: those determined by the governing verb and essential to the semantic meaning of the verb, and those not determined by the governing verb and generally free to be added or deleted, without regard to what the specific verb happens to be (Allerton, 2006).

3.3.2.2 Distinctions between complements and adjuncts

The distinction between complements and adjuncts has become a highly controversial issue in valency theory literature, with implications for the method of identifying complements and adjuncts. According to Engel (1980), the number of complements is fixed depending on the verb

in a sentence, while the number of adjuncts is variable. This, however, gives rise to a discussion of the distinction between necessary or obligatory elements (complements) and optional elements (adjuncts), because different points of view can see different kinds of necessity e.g. communicative, informative, semantic or syntactic necessity (e.g. Helbig & Schenkel, 1975; Radek *et al.*, 2010; Zhang and Wang, 2007; Reichardt, 2013, p. 141). For example, both complements and adjuncts are necessary for communicative purposes. Obviously, as pointed out by Reichardt (2013, p. 174), the method for distinguishing between complements and adjuncts always depends on the purpose of the study and "involves a degree of intuition by the grammarian or lexicographer". Thus, it is not surprising to find that the same sentence element that is classified as complement in one study may be classified as an adjunct when another test is applied.

The view I adopt in this study is that complements and adjuncts are, to a large extent, a syntactic phenomenon, but restricted to semantic roles and functions. Semantic necessity and syntactic necessity, although each may have a different focus, are closely related and partly overlapping, because the necessity of complements is not only syntactically based but also semantically oriented (following Reichardt, 2013). Thus, it is fair to say that, the occurrence of complements is essential for forming a grammatically and semantically correct sentence.

As such, these two kinds of sentence elements can be distinguished by considering the syntactic and semantic necessity of the element, including the strength of the tendency of a governing verb to require or prohibit the element, the position of the element, and the potential use of the element in any sentence without regard to the verb (Allerton, 2006; Baker, 1995). Generally speaking, if a sentence element can only be added to certain verbs and not to others, and is semantically required by those verbs, then it is a complement. In contrast, if a sentence element can be freely combined with any verb and is in a loose semantic connection with the verb, it is an adjunct. It has become clear that complements can be realized not only as noun phrases, but also prepositional phrases, adjective phrases and adverbs, while adjuncts are essentially adverbial in form comprising prepositional phrases and adverbs (Allerton, 2006, pp. 304-305; Zhong, 2011). The distinctions between the two concepts of complements and adjuncts show not only syntactic and grammatical features of verbs, but also semantic information that is essential to the verbs.

After the description of these two concepts, a summary is given about some tests that are most useful for distinguishing complements and adjuncts.

3.3.2.3 Methods of identifying complements and adjuncts for English and Chinese directive SAVs

The main methods suggested to identify complements and adjuncts are the permutation test, commutation test and reduction test (cf. Reichardt, 2013; Vater, 1978).

3.3.2.3.1 Permutation test

In the permutation test, the complements and adjuncts are identified through relocation within the clause. As Helbig (1971) suggested, in sentences like the following:

(1) I read the news on the bus.

(2) I put the book on the table.

The adverbial phrases differ in their status as '*on the bus*' is omissible whereas '*on the table*' is not. Furthermore, the first sentence has corresponding permutations in which the elements are relocated, as follows, but the second sentence does not:

(3) On the bus I read the news.

(4) I was on the bus when I read the news.

(5) What I did on the bus was to read the news.

(6) *I, on the table, put the book.

These examples indicate that '*on the bus*' in sentence (1) is an adjunct, while the adverbial '*on the table*' in sentence (2) is a complement. Thus, the permutation test is a useful test which can distinguish the obligatory elements (complements) from optional elements (adjuncts) (Allerton, 2006). Furthermore, the distinction between different uses of lexical items is also crucial for the identification of complements. The permutation test can help to distinguish between the different

uses of a lexical item (Reichardt, 2013). For example, 'that' in English can occur as a pronoun or indicate a conjunction. The two uses can be easily distinguished with the permutation test by relocating 'that' to test whether 'that' can be separated from the rest of the clause (Gross, 1998). If 'that' and the rest of the clause can only be moved as a whole unit, 'that' is a conjunction; otherwise, it is a pronoun.

Since both English and Chinese have relatively fixed word order with subject-verb-object (SVO) as the most common and unmarked form, only the adjuncts can be relocated within a clause, and thus optionality and mobility can be used as the criteria for identifying adjuncts in English and Chinese (Quirk *et al.*, 1985; Ross & Ma, 2006). However, it has to be noted that in Chinese the position of adjuncts is with lower flexibility in mobility than English. For example, in Chinese the time expression (an adjunct) can appear in only two positions in the sentence: either at the beginning of the sentence before the subject or directly after the subject, and expressions indicating location (another adjunct) always come before the verb (Yip & Don, 2006, p. 43).

Due to the relatively fixed word order of Chinese and English, the permutation test alone may not be effective for accurately distinguishing between complements and adjuncts in the two languages (cf. Teubert, 2007), but rather be used with other types of tests.

3.3.2.3.2 Commutation test

As words or phrases that form a valency sentence complement can only be replaced as one single unit, Gross (1998) provides an appealing method for identifying valency sentence complements: the substitution or commutation test.

The commutation test, also called the substitution test, can help to identify complements in English and Chinese. The commutation test replaces sentence elements with alternative words and phrases which belong to the same syntactic category or exchange class (Reichardt, 2013). For example, the subject complement in English can be identified by being replaced by a pronoun in the subject case and the object complement can be identified by being substituted with a pronoun in the object case (Reichardt, 2013). One of the main sub-categories of the commutation test is anaphorization which

reduces sentence elements to appropriate pronouns or adverbs. Notably, the specific application of commutation test in the identification of case through the use of anaphors is considered to be more suitable for case inflected languages, as the structural differences in sentence formation based on case are more easily identifiable in case inflected languages (Reichardt, 2013, pp. 144-145). But anaphorization can also be applied to less inflected languages such as English and non-inflected languages such as Chinese.

For example, the underlined complements in Example sentences (1) and (2) can be replaced as shown in (1a) and (2a) respectively.

1) The AML/CTF Rules may require information relating to the matters mentioned in paragraph 75C (2)(a) or in Rules made under paragraph 75C(2)(b)

1a) They require it/this/them.

2) 发明 专利 申请 公布 后，申请人 可以 要求 实施 其 发明
Faming zhunli shenqing gongbu hou shenqingren keyi yaoqiu shishi qi faming
invention patent application publicize after applicant may require implement his/her invention

的 单位 或者 个人 支付适当 的 费用。
de danwei huozhe geren zhifu shidang de feiyong

PAR organization or individual pay appropriate PAR fees.

2a) 他/她 可以 要求 他/她/它 支付适当 的 费用。
ta keyi yaoqiu ta zhifu shidang de feiyong
he/she may require him/her/it pay appropriate PAR fees

As can be seen in Examples (1) and (2), Chinese pronouns differ largely from English pronouns in the inflection between person and case. As Reichardt (2013) points out, although English is less case oriented, pronouns have the most detailed inflectional system in English, showing distinctions to indicate whether they are the subject or object of a sentence, singular or plural, or singular or plural possessive. By contrast, Chinese has no inflection for case (Yip & Don, 2006). Pronouns in Chinese are not inflected to indicate whether they are the subject or object of a sentence, singular or plural, or possessive (Yip & Don, 2006). The possessive pronouns in Chinese are formed by appending the particle '*de*' (Yip & Don, 2006).

Despite lexical and grammatical differences between Chinese and English pronouns, anaphorization is suitable for both English and Chinese clauses, as it is particularly useful in identifying sentence elements and the forms in which functions are realized in English and Chinese. For example, prepositional complements in both English and Chinese can function as a subject or an object. But notably prepositional complements cannot be identified by being replaced with a personal pronoun, because they are marked in that they have a lexical meaning of their own and cannot be exchanged with other prepositions. To identify the function of a prepositional complement, anaphorization should be carried out with two-word phrases consisting of a preposition plus a personal pronoun (Allerton, 1982). Thus, the commutation test is a useful tool for the identification and comparison of verb valencies in English and Chinese.

3.3.2.3.3 Reduction test

Another useful method which is often used with permutation and commutation tests is reduction test. With the reduction test or elimination test, complements and adjuncts are identified through eliminating one constituent of a simple sentence and checking if the remainder is still grammatical (Helbig & Schenkel, 1975). If it is not a grammatically correct sentence, the omitted element is a complement of the verb, whereas if it is still grammatical, the omitted element is an adjunct of the verb:

3) The applicant demanded an international preliminary examination under Article 31 of the PCT before complying with the requirements of subsection 89 (3);

3a) The applicant demanded an international preliminary examination under Article 31 of the PCT;

3b) The applicant demanded an international preliminary examination;

3c) *The applicant demanded under Article 31 of the PCT;

3d) *The applicant demanded;

3e) *Demanded;

From Example (3), the prepositional phrases “before complying with the requirements of subsection 89 (3)” and “under Article 31 of the PCT” can be deleted from the sentence without

rendering it ungrammatical. It follows that *demand* is a verb that takes two complements, since neither the subject nor the object may be omitted from a sentence with this main verb without rendering it ungrammatical. Thus, complements are also defined by "the property of being unomissable from a simple sentence" (Conther, 1978, p. 128).

By keeping all obligatory constituents and eliminating all free ones, the 'skeleton of a sentence' is obtained, and its obligatory and optional constituents are distinguished. However, as mentioned by Vater (1978, p. 24), there is a dilemma in determining which elements are obligatory in the elimination test: whether to keep the necessary logical components complementing the sense of the verb, or to keep those elements that form the "syntactic minimum" of the sentence. As I see it, the sentence elements whose elimination makes the sentence ungrammatical or leads to a grammatically correct sentence, but with a changed meaning, are complements. This view is close to Tesnière (1966, quoted by Allerton, 2006, p. 303): complements are "indispensable to complete the sense of the verb" and need to be realized in the sentence. This test is equally suitable for English and Chinese clauses and thus can be a useful analytical tool for analyzing the sentence elements in the two languages.

3.3.2.4 The method used in this study

The method taken for identifying the valency complements of English and Chinese directive SAVs in this study is a combination of the permutation test, commutation test and reduction test discussed in Section 3.3.2.3. Since none of the three tests alone is able to deal with the distinction and classification of valency complements in both languages, they must be used in combination with each other. However, the commutation test and reduction tests are better suited for English and Chinese than the permutation test since English and Chinese have relatively fixed word order, so they will be applied first.

3.3.3 Methods of categorizing valency complements once they are identified

One main discussion around the analytic framework of valency theory relates to the categorization of valency complements once a verb or sentence's complements have been identified. According

to Helbig and Schenkel (1975), valency complements can be categorized based on their syntactic, semantic or communicative necessity. Renate (2013, p. 72) supports this claim by arguing that valency theory is a versatile concept to investigate language at three different levels: syntactic forms, syntactic functions and semantic disambiguation of sentence elements.

Different categorization types of valency complements have been proposed based on different classification approaches, such as categorization by word-class, e.g. noun, preposition, adjective, adverb (e.g. Herbst *et al.*, 2004; Hunston & Francis, 2000), categorization by syntactic functions, e.g. subject and object (e.g. Allerton, 2006; Engel, 1988; Fischer, 1997; Halliday, 1994; Renate, 2013; Tesnière, 1980), categorization by syntactic case, e.g. nominative, accusative, dative, genitive (cf. Engel, 1994; Schumacher *et al.*, 2004), and categorization by semantic roles, e.g. agent, patient and beneficiary (cf. Fillmore, 1968; Halliday, 1994; Oulton, 1999).

The categorization of valency complements by syntactic function is concerned with the distinction between subjects and objects (Reichardt, 2013, p. 77). Some scholars claim that establishing subjects and objects is easy (e.g. Matthews, 2007), but in fact it is particularly complex, because most definitions of subject and object "combine syntactic, semantic, logical and structural (positional) parameters" (Reichardt, 2013, p. 77).

For example, Tesnière (1980, p. 100) defines the '*subjects*' and '*objects*' based on their semantic meaning, while Engel (1988, p. 91) argues that the term '*subject*' has to be defined by syntactic features. Furthermore, as to the functions of the subject, Halliday (1994, pp. 30-33) identifies three different functions: a psychological subject is "that which is the concern of the message", a grammatical subject is "that of which is predicated" and a logical subject is a "doer of action". Undoubtedly the ambiguity about the different parameters applies to the identification of the subject and object. Reichardt (2013, pp. 81-82) convincingly concludes, "a distinction between grammatical, logical and psychological subjects and objects is inaccurate as they relate to different levels of sentence analysis". Thus, determining the functions of sentence elements may not work equally well for both English and Chinese. For the purpose of this study, the term 'subject' is

reserved to express the logical subject or the doer of action for semantic and syntactic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs.

In this study, syntactic forms such as word class and word order position are used as the basis for the categorization of valency complements. Such distinctions are usually marked by the morphological features of a word, such as case markings for nouns and prepositions, and thus the categorization of this kind is relatively straightforward (Renate, 2013).

At the semantic level, the categorization of complements is largely based on the semantic roles and semantic relationships of sentence elements, for example distinguishing between complements taking the agent, patient, content and beneficiary roles (e.g. Chang, 2008). It has to be noted that the subject and object can take a number of different semantic roles (Chomsky, in Reichardt, 2013, p. 78). The subject, for example, even in the same syntactic structure, can have different meanings as in 'John is eager to please' and 'John is easy to please' (Reichardt, 2013, p. 78). The subject 'John' in the former is the agent of the action, whereas the subject '*John*' in the latter is the patient or recipient of the action. Thus, the interpretation of the semantic roles of complements mainly depend on the context.

For this reason, the identification of semantic roles of sentence elements of a verb largely involves a researcher's interpretation, and an inaccurate reading may lead to incorrect results. As Faulhaber (2011, p. 13) argues,

> The general difficulty in assigning semantic restrictions and semantic roles is that it is impossible to exclude a certain degree of subjectivity. There is no formal criterion to verify any decision as to what is the most appropriate choice.

Due to the interpretative character of semantic roles, which mainly depend on the context, this approach will not be used for categorizing the complements of English and Chinese directive SAVs in this study. But undeniably, semantic roles or semantic features play an important role in understanding the relationship between sentence elements and identifying semantic differences of verb use between languages. Thus, for the purpose of semantic and syntactic comparison, an identification of the semantic roles of complements will be used as a complement to the

categorization by word-class in the overall contrastive semantic and syntactic analysis of directive SAVs. In what follows, the method of categorizing valency complements by word-class will be reviewed, ranging from definitions, outcomes of recent empirical studies and implications in the current study.

3.3.3.1 Categorization by word-class

The method of categorizing complements by word-class distinguishes the formal realizations of sentence elements by phrases such as noun phrases, adjective phrases, prepositional phrases, and by clauses such as infinitive clauses with *to*, *ing*-clauses, *that*-clauses and *wh*-clauses (Herbst et al, 2004). This classification approach does not reveal the syntactic function or semantic roles of the sentence elements. However, "the class of a sentence element together with its structural position uniquely determines its function" (Allerton, 1982, p. 4). Furthermore, the categorization approaches based on word-class are more suitable for languages with a relatively fixed order such as English and Chinese (e.g. Chen *et al.*, 2011; Herbst *et al.*, 2004; Hunston & Francis, 2000; Tao & Jiang, 2013).

For example, Herbst *et al.*'s (2004) valency dictionary provides a sound and comprehensive description of the valency properties of a large number of English verbs, adjectives and nouns. In this dictionary, the valency complements are categorized by word-class, distinguishing sentence elements by phrases and clauses. The function of various sentence elements is not explicitly shown, but the elements that can occur as the subject of a finite active clause or as the subject of a finite passive clause are specified in the dictionary. Moreover, in cases where two complements are identical in form and could easily be confused, semantic roles are indicated in the dictionary, including agent, beneficiary and recipient (Herbst *et al.*, 2004, p. xiii).

Approaches based on categorization by word-class are also found in Chinese. Gao *et al.* (2014) conduct a quantitative investigation into synergetic properties of Chinese verb valency and represent the interrelations between Chinese verb valency and other important linguistic variables, including polysemy, frequency, polytexuality and verb length. The valency patterns of Chinese

verbs in their study are represented by word-class and syntactic function, for example, the complementation patterns of the Chinese verb 给(*gei*): <Subj.+V 给+Pron+NP>, <Subj.+V 给+Comp+NP> and < Subj.+V 给+Aux.+NP+VP>. '*Subj.*' in the valency pattern of *gei* shows the semantic function of the element, whereas the rest of the elements are presented by their formal realizations.

English and Chinese word classes (or parts of speech) have been analyzed in great detail in a considerable number of English grammars (e.g. Downing & Locke, 2006; Gianninoto, 2014; Morrison, 2008; Quirk *et al.*, 1972; Jackson, 2005; Wardhaugh, 1995) and Chinese grammars (Wang, 2010; Wang, 2016; Yip & Don, 2006; Zhou, 2014). Western missionaries and scholars had played a key role in introducing Western linguistic theories regarding the categorization of word class to the study of Chinese grammar and so the word-class categories used to analyze Chinese language result from processes of borrowing, adaptation and innovation combining Western and Chinese ways of conceptualizing grammatical categories (Gianninoto, 2014). Although English and Chinese have their own distinctive word-classes, the two languages share some major word-classes including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions. Table 3-1 gives an overview of the most widely used word classes in English and Chinese.

Table 3-1 Word classes of English and Chinese

English (Leech, Deuchar and Hoogenraad, 2006, p.49-50)	**English** (Wardhaugh, 1995, p.4)	**Chinese** (Morrison, 2008)	**Chinese** (Cheng, 2016)	**Chinese** (Modern Chinese Dictionary, 5th edition)
Nouns	Nouns	Nouns	Nouns	Nouns
Verbs	Verbs	Verbs	Verbs	Verbs
Adjectives	Adjectives	Adjectives	Adjectives	Adjectives
Adverbs	Adverbs	Adverbs	Adverbs	Adverbs
Determiners				
Pronouns	Pronouns	Pronouns		Pronouns
Prepositions	Prepositions	Prepositions	Prepositions	Prepositions
Conjunctions	Conjunctions	Conjunctions	Conjunctions	Conjunctions
Operator-verbs (Auxiliaries)				Auxiliaries
Interjections	Interjections	Interjections		Interjections
Enumerators		Numerals		Numerals
			Classifiers	Quantifiers
			Localizers	Onomatopoeias
			Particles	

As can be seen from Table 3-1, even within a language, the parts of speech are not identical, since the classifications differ in approach. Although the classifications of word-class drawn by different scholars differ in the number of categories, there is a congruence between the major parts of speech used as categories in English and Chinese. Furthermore, the distinctive word-classes in Chinese, such as particles, localizers, onomatopoeias, classifiers and quantifiers, are generally not used alone as the complement of a verb, so they do not increase the valency of a verb and thus these fine-grained distinctions do not cause any problems for the comparison between the valency complements of the two languages.

For example, in Chinese, a classifier is used only when a number is used with a noun, placed between the number and the noun, which contrasts with English where nouns are divided into countables and uncountables, the former being used directly with numbers and the latter requiring a measure phrase after the number (Yip & Don, 2006, p. 21). If a noun phrase comprising a number and a classifier occurs as the subject of a verb in Chinese, the whole noun phrase will be categorized as a complement of the verb and the classifier does not affect the categorization of the complement.

Therefore, the categorization approach by word-class is equally suitable for English and Chinese. In this study, I opt for this method as it not only clearly indicates the type of sentence elements a verb requires, but also allows a direct comparison between English and Chinese directive SAVs in keeping with the overall method of corpus-based contrastive analysis underpinning this study.

3.3.3.2 The method of categorizing verb complements for analysis in this study

In summary, the various methods of categorizing valency complements differ with respect to their perspective on language. In fact, there is a lack of a generally unified linguistic approach to the theory and the methods of distinguishing and categorizing verb valency (cf. Masuko, 2003, p. 261). In this study, the analysis of valency complements of directive SAVs in English and Chinese will be largely based on the method of categorizing by word-class as in the Herbst *et al.*'s (2004) *Valency Dictionary of English*. Categorization by word-class is effective in the analysis of less inflected languages such as English and Chinese, and thus it is equally suitable for both English

and Chinese and capable of demonstrating syntactic similarities and differences between the two languages.

It should be noted that the different categorization types and the three levels of language analysis are, to a large extent, interdependent and complement each other. Thus, it is impossible to examine the different categorization classes and language levels in isolation. For example, for both English and Chinese directive SAVs, the semantic categories that serve as prototypes of the speaker or agent exhibit obvious features of [vitality] and [specificity]. The noun serving as agent is usually [human], or [organization], [social, political and law] [cultural] or [consciousness] which is formulated, disseminated and controlled by a human. For example, in legislative texts, the court and the government, which are constituted and controlled by humans usually serve as the agent of the verb. But some other semantic categories with features of [-vitality] and [+controlled] such as [equipment] and [stuff], although they may also be dominated and controlled by humans, cannot serve as agents for directive SAVs. Other semantic categories such as [plant], [supplies] and [food and drug] do not have the ability to serve as agents. Thus, the agent for directive SAVs is a noun, denoting a person, or an animate or personified organization. The addressee or the patient who is supposed to carry out the desired action is also a noun, denoting a person or, an animate or personified organization. The relationship between the agent and the addressee for each examined verb will be further discussed in the semantic analysis and corpus-data based valency analysis.

In this study, in order to account for similarities and differences of semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of directive SAVs between English and Chinese, functions and semantic roles of complements are also investigated by considering the structural position of the complements and contextual information.

3.3.4 Symbols for representing elements in valency patterns

In this study, the valency analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs starts with a detailed description of the complement inventory for each investigated directive SAV, and then their frequencies of occurrences and distributions in the corpora are discussed and illustrated with

examples. The complement inventory lists all the complements with which the examined SAV can occur in its directive sense. Each complement is listed under a Roman numeral. The following symbols and abbreviations used for the description of complements in this study are mainly based on Herbst *et al.*'s (2004, pp. xv-xvii) *A Valency Dictionary of English*, as listed in Table 3-2.

Table 3-2 Symbols and abbreviations

ADV	an adverbial which can be realized by means of an adverb phrase and a preposition phrase
CL	clause
INF	infinitive clause without *to*
:it	when occurring as subject, a dummy subject *it* is obligatory
(it)	when occurring as subject, a dummy subject *it* is possible
N and +N	a noun phrase that has a noun or pronoun as its central or only element **+N** also covers clauses introduced by *what*, *whoever* or *whatever*.
N_A	a noun phrase that can occur as subject of a finite active clause
N_P	a noun phrase that can occur as subject of a finite passive clause
Quote	a group of words taken from a text or speech, which is introduced by the verb and is in inverted commas
Sb	somebody
Sth	something
that-CL	clause introduced by *that*
(that)-CL	that-clause in which *that* can be omitted
to-INF	infinitive clause with *to*
INF	infinitive clause without *to*
to passive-INF	passive infinitive clause with *to*, which is formed: *to be + past participle*
V	verb of a clause
VP	a verb phrase that has a verb as its central or only element
V-ing	clause introduced by *ing*-form of a verb
wh-CL	clause introduced by a *wh*-word: *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *why*, *whether*, *how* and *if*
wh to-INF	infinitive clause introduced by a *wh*-word

Prepositional patterns in this study are indicated by giving the preposition and the sentence element that follows it, such as + of N (prepositional phrase introduced by *of* followed by a noun phrase).

Note that some of the complements for a directive SAV, from a semantic point of view, express different semantic roles, while some are exchangeable as they express the same semantic role.

In addition, as Reichardt (2013, p. 178) highlights, valency sentence complements are based on the active canonical clause. However, in English legislative texts, complex sentences are predominant and most of the sentences are not active canonical clauses, which makes it difficult to analyze the valency sentence complements. For the purpose of valency analysis, all passive clauses in which the examined directive SAVs occur in the corpora are transformed into simple active canonical clauses in order to categorize them. The information about passivization is provided through marking the elements that can be or did occur as subjects of passive clauses by a subscript $_{P,}$ as in N_P. If no subscript $_P$ is given, the complement cannot be the subject of a passive clause. The subject (agent of the action) of a directive SAV in an active clause is realized by [by N] in a passive clause.

3.3.5 Valency pattern information

In this study valency patterns are categorized into five patterns based on the number of complements occurring: zerovalent, monovalent, divalent, trivalent and quadrivalent (see Section 3.3). In the description of the valency patterns of a verb, each pattern is preceded by a reference letter code. The following letter codes are used in the description of the verb patterns in this research (based on Herbst *et al.*, 2004, pp. xiii-xiv):

Z a zerovalent use: a pattern with no complement

M a monovalent active use: a pattern with one complement

D a divalent active use: a pattern with two complements

T a trivalent active use: a pattern with three complements

Q a tetra- or quadrivalent active use: a pattern with four complements

The zerovalent pattern will be indicated in the Quantative Valency block. If zerovalent use is possible, it will be indicated by YES; otherwise NO is recorded. All other patterns will be identified by the letter code preceding the complements that can occur in that pattern. For example, if a *to*-infinitive clause is labelled D – i.e. *'D to-INF'* – it means that this complement can occur in a divalent pattern. Some verbs are subject to a single valency sentence pattern, while some have flexible valency patterns with different realization forms in a sentence.

3.4 Conclusion

Undoubtedly, choosing the methods for comparative analysis is a key concern in this contrastive investigation, given it centres upon comparing lexical meanings and syntactic patterns of a group of semantically similar directive SAVs in English and Chinese in legislative texts. By taking account of both English and Chinese languages, two main analytic methods – componential analysis and valency analysis – have been chosen.

The discussion has shown that componential analysis is of great significance in a contrastive analysis between English and Chinese, as subtle semantic differences among semantically related SAVs in the two languages can become perfectly transparent by decomposing them into their component parts and working out possible semantic traits of each language. As Hu (2009) describes, componential analysis splits word meanings up into several smaller "atomic" concepts to describe semantic meaning of words and thus it is an effective approach to investigate lexical similarities and difference between words, especially words that are closely related. Thus, componential analysis is employed in this study to provide a more accurate description of meanings of English and Chinese directive SAVs. It will help to achieve a further-reaching conclusion by deepening the semantic analysis into primitives and further illustrating semantic components and structures within primitives.

Valency theory, as an analytical tool for dealing with the interface of local grammar and lexis, works for a monolingual analysis of English or Chinese as well as for a contrastive analysis between the two languages. In this study, the notion of verb valency serves as the basis for a

syntactic investigation of English and Chinese directive SAVs. This chapter has argued that, as compared to categorical grammar approaches, the valency approach maintains a much more complex relationship between the verb, its complements and their combined semantics (cf. Cornell, 2005). The valency complementation patterns of a verb can be seen as a representation of its syntactic patterns.

One further advantage of valency theory lies in its flexibility regarding different categories. In this study, valency theory is considered as a versatile concept to investigate English and Chinese directive SAVs on three levels: syntactic forms, syntactic functions of complements, and semantic disambiguation of sentence elements. The chapter has noted that the different categorization types and the three levels of language analysis are, to a large extent, interdependent and complement each other. Thus, it is impossible to examine the different categorization classes and language levels in isolation.

Nevertheless, in this study, the categorization approach by word-class is chosen as the primary approach because it not only clearly shows the relationship between the sentence elements, but also allows a direct comparison between English and Chinese directive SAVs. The chapter has highlighted that the method of categorizing by word-class is effective in the analysis of less inflected languages, such as English and Chinese, and is equally suitable for both languages. In addition to word-class categorization, the functions and semantic roles of the SAVs' complements will also be investigated by looking at the structural position of complements and contextual information to account for similarities and differences in the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of the directive SAVs within and across the two languages.

Another advantage of valency theory lies in the consistency of valency patterns of verbs, as valency structures do not change over time unless there are changes to the verbs' frequent contexts of use (Reichardt, 2013). In other words, valency structures of verbs are susceptible only to change due to the inherent properties of the verbs concerned and thus the analysis of valency structures is not prone to subjective interpretation.

Therefore, componential analysis and valency analysis are effective methods for examining the semantic and syntactic properties of English and Chinese directive SAVs, to investigate the possible correlation between their semantic meaning and syntactic patterns, and to observe the similarities and differences in the use of these directive SAVs in legislative texts.

The following chapter will be devoted to a comprehensive description of the overall method of corpus-based contrastive analysis and of how the methods of componential analysis and valency analysis will be used within this overall analytical framework.

4 ANALYTIC METHODS: CORPUS-BASED CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS THE CORPUS OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

The previous Chapter (3) outlined the two analytic methods for componential and semantic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs which will be applied in this study, and these will be underpinned by the methods of corpus data collection and cross-linguistic contrastive analysis which this chapter will introduce. The central foci of this study are the exploration of the correlation between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs, and of the semantic and syntactic similarities and differences between directive SAVs within and across the two languages. In order to carry out such a multifaceted study, I will draw upon a methodology of corpus-based contrastive analysis which is multi-perspectival and can lead to tenable results and a more accurate description of English and Chinese directive SAVs (see Zhang, 2014).

The approach of contrastive analysis will be applied in this study as an effective approach to discover the differences and similarities of the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of the directive SAVs in English and Chinese legislative texts, and to describe conceptual and cultural distinctiveness across the two languages. This cross-linguistic comparison between English and Chinese directive SAVs will be supported by directly-observable quantitative data to explore linguistic behaviour in real legislative contexts. The following sections will provide a detailed discussion of the theoretical framework of contrastive analysis (Section 2) and corpus linguistics (Section 3), and then present the methods and techniques of data collection, corpus-building and corpus analysis chosen for this study (Section 4.4 to Section 4.6).

4.2 The analytic method of contrastive analysis

Johansson (2007, p. 1) defines contrastive analysis as “the systematic comparison of two or more languages, with the aim of describing their similarities and differences”. Contrastive analysis is a

form of interlanguage study and is always concerned with a pair of languages. Some scholars (e.g. James, 1980, pp. 2-3) suggest that the focus of contrastive analysis is more on differences between languages than on their similarities.

Based on the assumption that difference equals difficulty, contrastive analysis originally aimed at producing more efficient foreign language teaching methods and tools by basing foreign language teaching on the contrastive findings of similarities and differences between languages (Granger, 2003). However, along with research findings on the more important role that non-interlingual factors play in foreign language teaching, such as personal factors and teaching methods, the basis of contrastive analysis was questioned (Granger, 2003). Despite the resulting decline of the contrastive approach in studies geared towards foreign language teaching, contrastive analysis has been extended to other fields. The increased demand for interlingual communication around the world owing to globalization and the rapid development of corpus linguistics significantly boosted the popularity of contrastive analysis, particularly in translation studies (e.g. Baker, 1993; Egan & Rawoens, 2014; Marwa, 2016; Xiao & Hu, 2015; Zhang, 2014).

According to Granger (2003, p. 18), corpus-based contrastive analysis enables linguists to test, quantify and refine intuition-based contrastive statements on the basis of empirical data which is considered "vastly superior – both qualitatively and quantitatively – to the type of contrastive data that had hitherto been available to them". Therefore, contrastive analysis can be seen as a feasible and practical instrument in cross-cultural semantic and syntactic analysis to observe the differences and similarities between languages with empirical support, and accordingly to predict difficulties associated with translation.

One point that is worth raising concerns the comparability of the languages involved in contrastive analysis. There are many recurring arguments in the literature questioning the application of contrastive analysis, the comparability of languages and the existence of variability (see e.g. Dickerson, 1974). Critics have argued whether different languages are comparable and object to analyses which are founded on labelling descriptive categories the same way in different languages

(Markham, 1985). James (1980) is a key defender of the use of contrastive analysis, accepting the founding assumption of comparability. He (James, 1980, p. 3) describes contrastive analysis as a:

> linguistic enterprise aimed at producing inverted (i.e. contrastive, not comparative) two valued typologies (a CA is always concerned with a pair of languages), and founded on the assumption that languages can be compared.

In terms of imposing categories on different languages, James (1980, p. 168) goes on to argue that:

> First one does not refer to categories by the same label unless they have at least something in common… The major defense of the position that languages are in principle comparable is to insist that comparability does not presuppose absolute identity, but merely a degree of shared similarity.

This accounts for why most languages are comparable. Undoubtedly there is no absolute identity between any two languages, be they related or unrelated. A contrastive analysis is based on the assumption that languages have a certain degree of shared similarity and can therefore be compared.

One well-known attempt to account for the areas of difficulty that exist between languages was made by Eckman. In his work *Markedness and the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis* (Eckman, 1977), he proposed the "markedness differential hypothesis" and tried to explain the areas of difficulty and the degree of difficulty with a more sophisticated approach. This injected much enthusiasm into linguistic studies using contrastive analysis.

The key to contrastive analysis is the method chosen for the comparison of languages, as the method will affect the extent of the findings. In this study, the syntactic valency and semantic components are chosen as the starting point for the contrastive investigation into Chinese and English directive SAVs. As discussed in Chapter 3, the semantic components and valency complements categories chosen in this contrastive analysis are equally suitable for both English and Chinese. Valency sentence patterns contribute to the building up of the syntactic and semantic profile of English and Chinese directive SAVs. Semantically-related verbs from two typologically different languages like English and Chinese have distinctly 'favoured' syntactic patterns. Thus, the cross-language comparison in this study will investigate the differences in the two languages' meaning construction, syntactic properties and usage in naturally occurring texts.

The contrastive study of English and Chinese directive SAVs is not just an exercise in the analysis of lexical fields, but is likely to yield insights relevant to the philosophy of English and Chinese languages, linguistic anthropology, cognitive psychology, and linguistics across the two languages. Verschueren (1979) argues that contrastive studies of SAVs are of great importance in cross-cultural interaction and human conceptualization. With regard to this, Verschueren (1979, p. 458) states:

> They [contrastive studies of SAVs] can be expected to influence our decisions when trying to classify speech acts, to further our understanding of the way in which linguistic action is experienced in different language communities, and to deepen our insight into the human conceptualization of a complex part of reality.

In short, the adoption of corpus-based contrastive analysis as a methodology for the semantic and syntactic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs is based on the idea that "language is a social phenomenon and as such it must be investigated starting from actual data" (Zanettin, 2014, p. 7).

Building up such a data-rich, contrastive picture of the Chinese and English SAVs in legislative language can have practical applications to the translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese. The applied benefits to translation may accrue especially for the translation of legislative text. To my knowledge there has not yet been such a study contrasting the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative discourse. To bridge this gap, in this study, contrastive analysis will be carried out on the basis of empirical language data collected from naturally occurring original and translation legislative texts aiming at reaching a higher degree of descriptive adequacy of the usage of directive SAVs in English and Chinese.

Having outlined the methodological choice of contrastive analysis in this section, the following section will expand on the methodological choices made about the corpora to be contrasted. It offers a thorough discussion of the theoretical and analytical framework of corpus linguistics.

4.3 Corpus linguistics in a multilingual context

4.3.1 Corpus linguistic as a research method and theoretical framework

The most controversial debate on corpus linguistics is whether it is merely a methodology used in linguistic research or an independent discipline in and of itself. It is well known that corpus-based approaches are empirical in that they "utilize a large and principled collection of natural texts, make extensive use of computers for analysis using both automatic and interactive techniques, and depend on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques" (Biber *et al.*, 1998, p. 4). Corpus-based approaches enable researchers to directly examine observable language data from naturally occurring texts in a systematic manner and to "access to a quality of evidence that has not been available before" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 4). Corpus-based analyses have led to unexpected new findings that could not have been envisaged or achieved by intuition or introspection. As Teubert (2005) suggests, corpus linguistics offers a perspective on language that sets it apart from received views or the views of cognitive linguistics. Hence there is an increasing trend that scholars view corpus linguistics as not only a method, but also a new philosophical approach to linguistic enquiry which significantly helps to reveal the nature of language (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001).

Corpus linguistics have yielded numerous exciting findings on a large variety of topics and led to significant theoretical advances (Mahlberg, 2005). According to Zhang (2004, p. 34), corpus linguistics has revealed phenomena that existing theories had totally ignored or failed to explain in relation to the following (bullet points added):

- (extended) unit of meaning or lexical item (e.g. Sinclair, 1998, 2004; Sinclair & Teubert, 2004; Stubbs, 2009; Teubert, 2005);
- pattern grammar (e.g. Francis *et al.*, 1996; Hunston & Francis, 1998);
- collocation, semantic prosody (e.g. Bednarek, 2008; Hunston, 2007; Sinclair, 1998; Stewart, 2010; Xiao & McEnery, 2006);
- part of speech (e.g. Sinclair, 1991);
- lexis as the core of language (e.g. Hoey, 2004, 2005; O'Halloran, 2007; Sinclair, 2004; Teubert, 2005);

- the relationship between form and meaning (e.g. Hoey, 2005; Sinclair, 1985, 1991; Teubert, 2005; Williams, 1998); and
- paraphrase as interpretation of meaning (e.g. Teubert, 2005, 2010; Teubert & Cermakova, 2004).

All these important linguistic properties are discovered and explained by corpus-based approaches.

The aim of corpus-based approaches is to "derive linguistic categories systematically from the recurrent patterns and the frequency distributions that emerge from language in context" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 87). The introduction of quantitative statistical measures in corpus linguistics such as frequency counts makes various language features transparent and greatly helps to show differences of lexical and syntactic usage patterns between languages or genres. Furthermore, we may use the empirical evidence observed in one or more corpora to test or expound our intuitions in order to make a more accurate description of the lexicon and reveal the real nature of language. Thus, corpus linguistics is a discipline that has exerted significant theoretical consequences, and a methodology that can be used in almost any area of linguistic study.

The corpus-based approach has been widely used to investigate the meaning and usage of languages. Corpus linguists believe that meaning is constructed in discourse and that discourse constructs social structures (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Teubert, 2005, 2010). The meaning of a lexical item is closely related to its usage found in the discourse. According to Hoey (2005, p. 81), "the meanings of a word will have to be interpreted as the outcome of its primings, not the object of the primings". The usage of a word, such as its frequency, collocations, valency sentence patterns and contextual information, is what the word is primed for and greatly contributes to the construction of its meaning. Teubert's (2005, pp. 2-7) theses relevant to this claim are listed below (with their original numbering):

> 1. The focus of corpus linguistics is on meaning. Meaning is what is being verbally communicated between the members of a discourse community. Corpus linguistics looks at language from a social perspective […]
> 4. Meaning is in the discourse. Once we ask what a text segment means, we will find the answer only in the discourse, in past text segments which help to interpret this segment, or in new contributions which respond to our question.

13. Frequency is an important parameter for detecting recurrent patterns defined by the co-occurrence of words. Frequency is thus an essential feature for making general claims about the discourse. However, statistical 'significance' is never enough. Lexical items also have to be semantically relevant.

19. Meaning is paraphrase. Whenever lexical item tokens are the cause of a communication disorder, their meaning will be negotiated, described or explained, replaced by synonyms, and sometimes even 'defined' as in dictionaries or in encyclopaedias.

20. There is no true and no fixed meaning. Everyone can paraphrase a unit of meaning however they like, therefore the meaning of any lexical item type is always provisional. The next paraphrase may already lead to a revision. The members of the discourse community will continue to negotiate, among themselves, what a unit of meaning means.

21. The discourse is a self-referential system. Natural language is the only codification system in which the functions of its elements are determined not by ascription from outside but by discourse-internal negotiation. This sets natural languages apart from formal calculi, like the code of mathematics.

The above theses show that corpus linguistics takes the meaning (in both a collective sense and a lexical item) as able to be explained or interpreted in various ways by participants within a discourse (Teubert, 2005). That is, corpus linguistics holds that our perceptions of reality are "constructed through social interaction and mediated by the use of language" (Zhang, 2007, p. 36). When a new lexical item is used in a discourse, its meaning will be interpreted differently by different users in an infinite variety of ways. Its discourse members would connect the lexical items and text segment to their own experiences in the real world and then will argue and negotiate its meaning, thereby significantly contributing to the construction of the meaning of this lexical item in this discourse (Zhang, 2007). Therefore, the meaning of a given lexical item in a discourse is constructed and developed socially and collaboratively based on its previous occurrences within the discourse, which is called by a 'loose consensus' of all the instantiations of this item (Sinclair & Teubert, 2004).

Furthermore, the meaning of a linguistic unit is closely related to its usage in the discourse including its frequency, syntactic features and context. As Teubert and Cermakova (2004) pithily suggest, the meaning of a given lexical item is also its usage in the discourse. Sharing the same view, Zhang (2007) argues that the semantic meaning of a lexical item lies in the semantic association, colligations, and collocations for which the item is primed. A lexical item, e.g. SAV,

can be seen as a type, and each instance of it as a token (Zhang, 2007). Corpus-based semantic analysis enables us to get access to the instances, on the basis of which the meaning and usage of a given lexical item in a given discourse can be accurately captured.

4.3.2 Use of corpora in contrastive analysis and translation studies

A corpus-based contrastive analysis can have useful practical applications in lexicography and translation studies, and it helps translators to determine what is typical and usual in interlingual transfer and to improve their proficiency in translation practice. Indeed, there is a long history of interaction between contrastive linguistics and translation studies, using corpora. Aijmer and Alternberg (1996, p. 12) suggest reasons multilingual corpora may be useful for cross-linguistic contrastive and translation research:

- they give new insights into the languages compared-insights that are likely to be unnoticed in studies of monolingual corpora;
- they can be used for a range of comparative purposes and increase our knowledge of language-specific, typological and cultural differences, as well as of universal features;
- they illuminate differences between source texts and translations, and between native and non-native texts;
- they can be used for a number of practical applications, e.g. in lexicography, language teaching and translation.

Parallel and comparable corpora are considered important resources for contrastive analysis and translation studies, as they can "offer specific uses and possibilities" for contrastive and translation studies (Aijmer & Altenberg, 1996, p. 12).

As Laviosa (1998, p. 474) argues, the evolution of the corpus-based approach is "through theoretical elaboration and empirical realization, into a coherent, composite and rich paradigm that addresses a variety of issues pertaining to theory, description, and the practice of translation". With the advancements of computational power and increasing availability of electronic texts for a corpus, suitable tools and resources, enormous progress has been made in the last two decades as regards the development of the application of corpus linguistics in translaton studies (e.g. Brunette,

2013; Coehn, 2009; Fantinuoli & Zanettin, 2014; Geng, 2015; Wang, 2014). As such, corpus-based approaches have become a major research methodology in all three broad categories of translation studies (applied, descriptive and theoretical translation studies), with practical applications ranging from terminology to human translation and machine translation (Fantinuoli & Zanettin, 2014).

According to Johansson (2007), the validity and reliability of a comparison is largely increased with the use of bilingual or multilingual corpora, especially if a variety of texts and a range of translators are represented. The method of contrastive analysis is particularly useful for revealing distinct linguistic features of semantically related verbs. As Van Roey (1990, p. 77) states:

> With regard to the contrastive analysis of the connotative, stylistic and collocational meanings of interlingual 'synonyms', the linguist will of course again have to start from empirical data (native informants, dictionaries, corpora), but little has been achieved in the way of systematic treatment of such data.

The corpus-based contrastive method proves to be a useful heuristic tool capable of throwing valuable light on the semantic and syntactic features of the English and Chinese directive SAVs contrasted (e.g. Firbas, 1992; Johansson, 2007). The combination of contrastive approach and corpus linguistics is very natural, because corpus linguistics is essentially comparative in nature. Corpora have "always been pre-eminently suited for comparative studies" (Aarts, 1998, p. ix). Indeed, most corpora, both monolingual and multilingual corpora, have been designed with the explicit aim of comparing languages. Furthermore, corpus analysis techniques are intrinsically comparable, such as keyword analysis, collocation analysis and interlanguage analysis (Xiao, 2014).

However, one of the problems in the use of translation corpus for cross-linguistic research is 'translationese' arising from translators' competence, styles, habits and translational strategies. Translationese is considered "a fairly colloquial designation for any characteristics of a text that indicate that it has been translated from another language" (Champe, 2000, quoted by Zanettin, 2012, p. 12). Altenberg and Granger (2002, p. 17) offer an explanation of translationese:

> Translators transfer texts from one language or culture to another and the translation therefore tends to deviate in various ways from the original. We have already mentioned possible translation effects – traces of the source language or universal translation strategies – and they involve additions, omissions, and various kinds of 'free' renderings that are either called for or motivated by cultural and communicative considerations.

Translationese is inherent in translation, being "motivated by cultural and communicative consideration" (Baker, 1993; McEnery & Xiao 2002), and accordingly the use of parallel (i.e. translated) corpora for cross-linguistic research is challenged by some linguists (e.g. Johansson & Oksefjell, 1998). One solution to this problem is to filter out unreliable translation equivalents by resorting to the procedure of back-translation (Ivir, 1987). If a translation in the target language cannot be translated back into its original form in the source language, it means that the translation equivalent is not a reliable equivalent. Another option is to look for translation equivalents occurring recurrently in a parallel corpus that is constituted of texts translated by a variety of translators (Zhang, 2009). The more recurrently a translation pattern occurs in the corpus, the more likely it is the preferred translation equivalent.

Despite translationese, equivalent lexical links across languages could be established by using parallel corpora. According to Teubert and Cermakova (2004, p. 155), "parallel corpora are repositories of the practice of translators". Parallel corpora can provide "precise information about the co-occurrence patterns and frequency data of the source items as well as of semantically related expressions that are brought into the picture by looking at their translations" (Zhang, 2009, p. 28). The semantic and pragmatic meanings and functions of semantically related items in the compared language pair are closely related to their relative frequencies, and thus such quantitative information is crucial for translation studies (Zhang, 2009).

Furthermore, some scholars (e.g. Baker, 1993; Laviosa, 1998; Zanettin, 2012) propose that a comparison of linguistic data in a comparable monolingual corpus of non-translated and translated texts could disclose some properties of translated texts and patterns of behaviour resulting from the process of translation. Baker pioneered corpus-based translation studies and her empirical investigation (1993) of the corpora of translated texts uncovered a great number of distinctive patterns of translation, based on which she proposed some potential "translation universals".

Resting on the increasing availability of electronic texts, further corpus studies have been undertaken to verify or clarify Baker's claims and corpus-based approaches have become the mainstream in descriptive translation studies and the main component in translator training courses in universities (Zanettin, 2012). Large translation corpora provide a much more solid empirical basis for descriptive and applied translation research than had ever been previously available.

The emergence and rapid increasing of corpus-based translation studies is seen by Granger (2003, p. 18) as "a direct consequence of a major change of perspective in TS (translation studies) that displaced the research focus from the source text to the target text". In other words, translation studies which previously focused on equivalence with the source text (semantic, pragmatic, stylistic, etc), have been turned into a descriptive endeavour to specify probabilistic laws of translation (Granger, 2003). Such major change is also described by Venuti (2000, p. 123),

> The literature on equivalence formulates linguistic and textual models and often prescribes a specific translation practice (pragmatic, functional, communicative). The target orientation, in contrast, focuses on actual translations and submits them to detailed description and orientation. It inspires research projects that involve substantial corpora of translated texts.

Since lexical patterns can be identified relatively easily in corpora, the impact of the use of corpora on the study of lexis is probably the greatest (Johansson, 2007). What is significant from a methodological point of view is the way multilingual corpora are exploited.

First of all, since a corpus is a collection of words stored on a computer, rapid and reliable research through the collection of words can be done with computer-based tools (see Section 4.5.1 for the tools used in this study). With the development of machine-readable corpora, various corpus analysis tools using computer technology make it possible to observe directive SAVs in English and Chinese by looking at very large collections of naturally occurring language data. Using this methodology in this study allows me to investigate the English and Chinese directive SAVs more accurately, swiftly and objectively. Large amounts of data may better show the tendencies and the typical uses of English and Chinese directive SAVs and reveal instances of rare or exceptional cases, all of which cannot be observed from looking at single or few texts. The observation of English and Chinese directive SAVs made on the basis of large amount of empirical data enables

me to see whether the hypothesis in this study – that there is a correlation between the syntactic patterns and semantic meaning of directive SAVs – works with the data. If the hypothesis fits the data, the link between the semantic meaning and syntactic structures of directive SAVs can be seen as being well-grounded and the findings may then be applied to language learning and translation studies between English and Chinese.

Secondly, in terms of applied translation studies, the parallel and comparable corpora have their own characteristics and serve different purposes for this study. The main purpose of parallel corpora in this study is to explore the translation equivalents of a group of Chinese directive SAVs found in Chinese original texts. For example, interference from the original language on the translation process from Chinese into English can be studied on the basis of Chinese-English parallel corpora. Turning to comparable corpora, they are suitable for contrastive analysis of English and Chinese and this is particularly useful for deriving findings relevant to improving translators' understanding of English and Chinese directive SAVs and raising the quality of translation in terms of correct term choice and idiomatic expressions in translating directive SAVs between English and Chinese.

Thirdly, comparable corpora have made significant contributions to descriptive translation studies (Zanettin, 2012). In this study, translation can be described as a product. By comparing the translated English language texts with analogous, original English language texts, features of the lexical use of directive SAVs in translated and native English texts can be found. This, too, can help raise translators' linguistic and cultural awareness in general.

Last but not least, the empirical findings from corpora produced by descriptive translation studies are the basis for theoretical translation studies which aims "to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted" (Holmes, 1988, p. 71). The findings of descriptive corpus-based translation studies can thus be used to pursue general theories of translation.

The effect of the use of corpus-linguistic approach on contrastive and translation studies is profound and widespread. Parallel and comparable corpora can illuminate similarities and

differences between the contrasted language pairs firmly based on naturally occurring language data and increase our knowledge of typological and cultural differences as well as translation universals in study between English and Chinese.

Therefore, in this study corpus-based contrastive analysis is key to exploring semantic and syntactic features, and usage of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative texts and to accomplishing the research tasks outlined in Chapter one. Its application in contrastive analysis and translation study is examined in the Section below.

4.4 The application of contrastive analysis and corpus linguistic methods in this study

Given the benefits of contrastive methods of analysis outlined in Section 4.2, this study adopts a contrastive analysis. The contrastive analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs will be both quantitative and qualitative based on empirical data collected from naturally occurring legislative texts. The contrastive analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs in this study will be based on the corpus-linguistic framework. Within this framework, I will explore how the meaning of English and Chinese directive SAVs can be elaborated by investigating all their instances in two legal corpora and by finding the correlations between their semantic meaning and syntactic structures. Although it is impossible to get access to all instances of the examined SAVs in legal discourse, as long as the corpora is large enough, this study will have sufficient data to reveal the exact meanings of the examined SAVs and explain to what extent their meaning can be interpreted by their syntactic patterns.

Following this framework, the presentative semantic components and valency sentence patterns for each examined English and Chinese directive SAV will first be viewed within their contexts rather than being treated in isolation. Then the valency patterns for the English and Chinese directive SAVs under investigation will be compared cross-linguistically, including frequencies and distributions of valency sentence patterns and translation correspondences based on the corpus data. The valency patterns and frequencies of occurrences of the investigated English directive

SAVs in the non-translated English legislative texts will be compared with the patterns and frequencies of the English translation of the investigated Chinese directive SAVs in the translated texts to identify linguistic features of the translated SAVs through practical examples. This method may provide evidence of universal features that typically occur in the translated texts rather than in the original English texts, including simplification, explicitation, normalization and conservatism (for more about universal features, see Zanettin, 2012).

Following Zhang's (2009) method for mitigating the impacts of translationese in corpus analysis, the parallel corpus established in this study contains official English translation of original Chinese legislative texts which are translated by a variety of translators of high competence and with "experience and interaction with other members of the bilingual discourse community of which they are a part" (Teubert & Cermakova, 2004, p. 155). The corpus that is constituted of texts from such translators can be trusted and the translation equivalents in these texts thus can be accepted as reliable equivalents.

My choice of corpora is further outlined below, after an overview of the methods scholars typically use for corpora selection.

4.4.1 Corpora used

Since multilingual corpus research has a short history, having started in the early 1990s (Zanettin, 2012), there exists terminological confusion centring around the two technical terms: parallel and comparable corpora. A parallel corpus is a corpus comprising source texts in one language and their translations in another language (or other languages) in parallel, while comparable corpus refers to the corpus composed of different components sampled from different source languages by applying similar sampling techniques and representing similar coverage and balance. Of course, corpora can also be classified by other features, but defining corpus types by the criterion of corpus form – parallel or comparable types – follows the predominant method (e.g. McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006).

This study compiles texts into both a parallel and a comparable corpora. As illustrated in Figure 4-1; the parallel corpus includes original Chinese texts and their English translations, while the comparable corpus includes original English and Chinese texts. The two corpora are composed of three sub-corpora as listed in Figure 4-1.

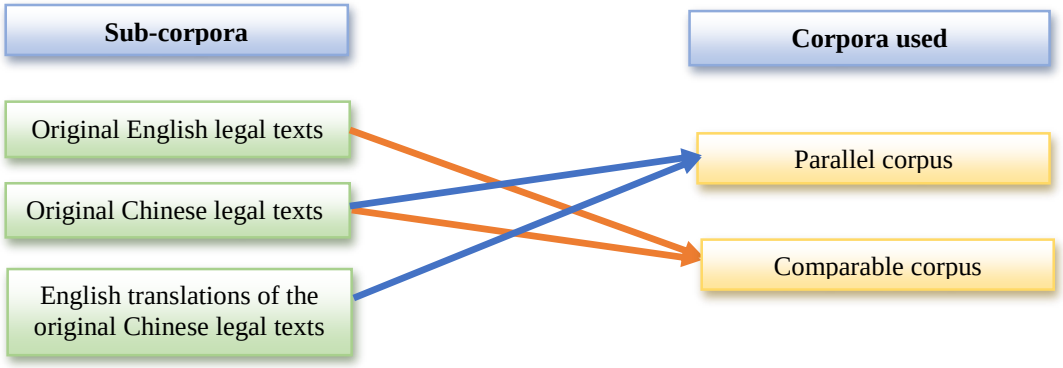

Figure 4-1 Corpora composition

As the English-language legislative texts and Chinese legislative texts are collated into sub-corpora put together by using same sampling techniques and matched in genre, they together create a comparable corpus. This comparable corpus is developed for use in the current contrastive study to reveal the similarities and differences of semantic and syntactic features of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative texts.

The parallel corpus in this study is a unidirectional corpus, translated from Chinese to English. It is composed of two sub-corpora: Chinese legislative texts as source texts and their translations in English. Since the entire English-language sub-corpora in the parallel corpus comprises exact translations of the texts in the original Chinese legal text sub-corpora, the sampling frame is irrelevant for the translated texts in the parallel corpus.

The selection of corpora upon which valid generalizations can be established is essential to corpus studies, but not without problems. Roland *et al.* (2007, p. 349) point out main selection and collection problems with using corpus-based approach to test claims, including problems in deciding upon the types of corpora, in extracting data of adequate quality and quantity, and in deciding on the most relevant data for the research topic. In this study, given the frequency of the

English and Chinese directive SAVs and their valency sentence patterns are highly conventionalized and genre-specific, it is crucial to carefully select the types of corpora and their composite texts in order to extract data to test the hypothesis of this study. This study's careful selection of texts is explained in the following sections.

4.4.2 Specialized sub-corpora

To examine the meaning and valency sentence patterns of a group of near-synonymous English and Chinese directive SAVs in the legal genre, specialized corpora consisting of legislative texts are established.

4.4.2.1 The corpus of original English legislative texts and the corpus of original Chinese legislative texts

The corpus of original English legislative texts and the corpus of original Chinese legislative texts are each a collection of samples of modern legislative language promulgated since 2000. The two corpora are collations of domestic legislation produced by lawmaking authorities and published in written form in Australia and Mainland China respectively, based on the same sampling principles, e.g. the same legal genres of the same domains in two different languages in the same sampling period. In the present study, only the latest versions of laws and regulations in Australia and China (i.e. the versions now in force) have been selected. These include the Anti-Money Laundering and Counter-Terrorism Financing Act, Banking Act, Bankruptcy Act, Business Names Registration Act, Coal Mining Industry Administration Act, Corporations Act, Design Act and Regulations, Environment Protection Act, Insurance Act, Lands Acquisition Act, Natural Heritage Trust of Australia Act, Patents Act and Regulations, Plant Breeders' Rights Act and Regulations, Road Safety Remuneration Act, Statistics Act, Taxation Act, and the Trade Marks Act and Regulations.

Details of the legislation are accessible at https://www.legislation.gov.au/ (for Australian laws), and http://www.sipo.gov.cn/zcfg/ and http://www.westlawchina.com/index_cn.html (for Chinese laws). In order to make sure of the reliability and validity of the study, the English legislative texts were selected at random from the list on the abovementioned government website and then the

Chinese legislative texts regulating the same subjects were chosen to ensure that the two corpora have a comparable make-up.

The study's reliance on Chinese and English legislative texts as the source of data may raise questions about the integrity of the data as a representation of contemporary legislative language in Chinese and English. All the English and Chinese legislative texts in the corpora are the most updated and advanced kind of legislation in China and Australia. They retain influence by social and cultural traditions, as the legal writing is heavily influenced by the underlying national legal culture (Bhatia *et al.*, 2008, p. 14). To keep abreast of economic and social development, these statutes have often been revised. It is believed that all the legislative texts selected are typical of Chinese and Australian legislation and the selection is, thus, justified.

There is one minor difference in the sampling frame for the two corpora: the number of Chinese legislative texts selected to be included in the corpus of original Chinese legislative texts is larger than the number of English legislative texts chosen for the corpus of original English legislative texts. Altogether there are 58 English language texts and 127 Chinese language texts. The reason for this decision is that, unlike Australian legislation, in which all relevant aspects of a subject matter are normally set out in one piece of legislation, there are often two or more pieces of legislation formulated for the same subject matter in Chinese. For example, there are a number of separate but interrelated Company Laws in China, such as Company Law of the People's Republic of China and Law of the People's Republic of China on the Registration and Administration of Companies, however, all the matters stipulated in these laws are stipulated in the Corporations Act in Australia. In this case, all these laws in Chinese are considered the counterparts of Australia's Corporations Act. As a result, the number of the Chinese texts is larger than the English texts.

Furthermore, the Chinese legal texts that were inputted to the study were usually between 4000 and 15000 characters long, and only a small number of texts yielded slightly more than 15000 characters. Given these lengths, the whole of the original legal texts in Chinese were included. In contrast, the average size of the English language legislative texts was much bigger. Some were extremely long, consisting of several thousand pages with more than three million words.

Compiling these texts would have made the English language corpus far larger than the Chinese language corpus, which was around one million characters. For such long legal texts, a random sampling procedure was therefore adopted to include excerpts of one million words from the beginning, middle and end of the Australian statutes in the corpora. Tens or hundreds of pages from ten different texts create a more representative sample than one thousand pages from a single text.

When the directive SAVs in English and Chinese are looked up in each corpus, one way of making the numbers of occurrences more comparable and apparent is to normalize the frequencies. In this study, the data have been normalized by establishing two legal sub-corpora of the same size – one million words for each corpus – and presenting the results in terms of the structural frequency of occurrences per million words.

The decision to use different number and size of texts in English and Chinese was determined by my intention to include all Chinese texts on the same subject matter as the English texts in order to establish the cross-linguistic congruence. I am aware that 58 longer English texts, but 127 shorter Chinese texts might cause potential problems, as longer texts have more opportunity for items of interest to occur, particularly skewing the comparison for items with low frequency. However, since the Chinese legislative texts on the same subject matter have same degree of formality and style, it is very unlikely that more individual Chinese texts would cause more variability in the Chinese corpus. Although the two sub-corpora are not exactly comparable in the number and size of the texts used to establish each corpus, they are comparable in size (one million tokens each) and composition. The English texts and their Chinese counterparts are parallel to a large extent, by being matched with respect to subject matters, genre, time of publication and degree of formality and the two corpora are normalized to a common base. Thus, despite the different numbers and lengths of texts in the two original language corpora, the two corpora can be viewed as counterparts of each other and, accordingly, comparability can be achieved for valid contrastive analysis.

4.4.2.2 The corpus of English translations of the original Chinese legislative texts

The third corpus compiled for this study is the corpus of English translations of the original Chinese legal texts. For the sake of convenience, it is referred to as the corpus of English translation. It consists of the Chinese Government-published English translations of the 127 Chinese legislative texts contained in the corpus of original Chinese legislative texts, and these versions were also collected online from the Chinese law databases provided in Section 4.4.2.1 (http://www.sipo.gov.cn/zcfg/ and http://www.westlawchina.com/index_cn.html).

The length of the English translations is much shorter than the original Chinese texts, totalling approximately 839,350 English words.

4.4.3 Balance, representativeness and comparability

Corpus builders always strive for balance, representativeness and comparability, but they rarely attain it (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). In truth, a sufficient degree of balance and representativeness is a matter of judgement and cannot be measured absolutely accurately (Kennedy, 1998).

Some argue we can only claim that a corpus is representative when a discourse is entirely reproduced in a corpus: the corpus contains all the texts that the discourse consists of, and all the data relevant to the research can be accessed (Teubert & Cermakova, 2004). Undoubtedly, any corpus, regardless of its size and composition, can only be representative of a part of a natural language, and 100% representativeness, balance and comparability are unattainable in practice. However, this does not mean that the more limited representativeness of a more realistic corpus of less universal scope is of no value. As pointed out by McEnery and Wilson (2001, p. 10), “the measures of balance and representativeness are matters of degree” and corpora compiled on the basis of proper criteria can indeed claim balance and representativeness.

A large corpus is more likely to provide a sufficient number of occurrences of an examined word and thus offers a better representativeness (Sinclair, 1991) but corpora size is greatly restricted by the research objectives and methods used for data analysis. The corpora used in the current study

are representative of English and Chinese legislative language and suitable for a study of doctoral size. It is reasonably assured that the size of the corpora used in the present study will yield sufficient citations of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs to allow a thorough analysis of usage of and a decent semantic and syntactic profile for each of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs.

The design of corpora in this study seeks to achieve the highest possible degree of representativeness, balance and comparability that are realistically attainable. Thus, the comparable corpus consists of English and Chinese legislative texts that are carefully selected based on the same sampling principles in order to avoid the risk of unmatched original texts between English and Chinese. These two sub-corpora look at broadly the same genres, as represented by similarly sized texts that were created in the same period. Therefore, the corpora are carefully designed and built in order to cope with the research setting of this study. The collection of data from the corpora critically depends on the availability of suitable tools and methods, which are examined in the section below.

4.5 Methods of analysis

The aim of this study is to provide a description of the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of a group of semantically similar English directive SAVs and their closest Chinese counterparts to explore the correlation between their semantic meaning and syntactic properties within each language, to compare and contrast their frequencies of occurrences and syntactic patterns observed in the corpora of English and Chinese legislative texts within and across languages to capture the differences in their usage in legislative discourse, and to investigate whether the valency sentence patterns of the examined directive SAVs are linked to the choice of a translation equivalent. To achieve these objectives, data revealing syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs occurring in the corpora need to be provided. However, unlike lexical patterns such as collocations, which are easily extractable and identifiable with corpus analysis tools, valency sentence patterns are much less recognizable as they are abstract and not directly obtained in texts (Tognini, 2001). Thus, the data retrieved from the corpus need to be interpreted in context and manually categorized

in order to avoid limitations from using automatic means of data processing, such as incorrect identification of word types (e.g. *order* as a noun or verb). In addition, as the same surface syntactic structure of a verb may present different valency sentence patterns; they would not be easily identified by software and have to be analyzed manually in context. The task of identifying and categorizing data is therefore arduous and time-consuming. The following subsections explain the combined use of software and manual analysis used to achieve the study's objectives.

4.5.1 Software

NVivo (Version 11) is a powerful qualitative and quantitative text analysis software program that is commonly used for corpus-linguistic analysis. Like other extensively-used quantitative analysis tools such as Wordsmith, TACT and Antconc, NVivo can be used to search for particular words, phrases or collocations. For example, by running a text search query, users can look for exact matches, words with stemmed words, words with synonyms, words with specializations or words with generalizations within one or more selected texts. NVivo can provide individual word token counts and word form counts, as well as the percentage occurrence of an individual word token or word form within the chosen texts. NVivo also gives total word-frequency distribution counts for selected documents.

NVivo has a number of strengths that set it apart from its quantitative counterparts. One of the most useful design features is that the texts for analysis do not need to be preprocessed in NVivo, rather, they can be directly imported into the program as Word files, texts files, PDFs, a spreadsheet or an audio file, and much time can be saved.

Another major difference between NVivo and analysis tools such as Antconc and TACT is that NVivo allows the user to code data, and organize data hierarchically through Nodes. Nodes represent themes, concepts, topics, ideas, opinions or experiences. Different categories of nodes can be created based on the needs of data analysis and nodes can be reorganized at any time. Users can code all types of sources and references to a specific topic in a single node. As King (2004) suggests, NVivo, as an important method of data management and, is invaluable in helping

researchers to gather segments of source texts to particular themes, to organize research notes by coding, to conduct complex searches, to retrieve operations, and to explore the relationships between the themes.

Based on the advantages of time, efficiency and the capacity to link research data to coding, analyze verbs in context and retrieve references in large data sets, NVivo was the most suitable analysis tool for the present corpus-based research.

Specifically, the process of coding helped me to identify and categorize valency sentence patterns of the examined verbs in the corpus and generate ideas about their usage in different corpora within and across languages. In the present study, I began the process by creating a folder in NVivo to represent each examined English and Chinese directive SAV. Within each folder, nodes representing different types of identified valency sentence pattern were created. Then a Text Search query on a specific SAV was run to find all the occurrences of that SAV within a corpus. As I worked through the source materials, I manually coded the source text passages of all occurrences – for example, actual sentences or paragraphs – to the corresponding nodes according to the type of valency sentence patterns I observed for that verb.

Another important feature of NVivo is that it is designed to allow users to not only focus on micro-level frequency-based analysis at the word level, but also conduct macro-level text analysis within the context. With the aid of NVivo, sophisticated analyses of semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs can be contextually undertaken at the sentence or paragraph level. By opening a node representing a certain type of valency sentence pattern of an examined SAV, I could explore all the references coded there as related to that pattern, such as all actual sentences or paragraphs. An example is shown in Figure 4-2. When more contextual information was needed, by simply clicking the references coded, I could retrieve the entire source text with the coded passage highlighted.

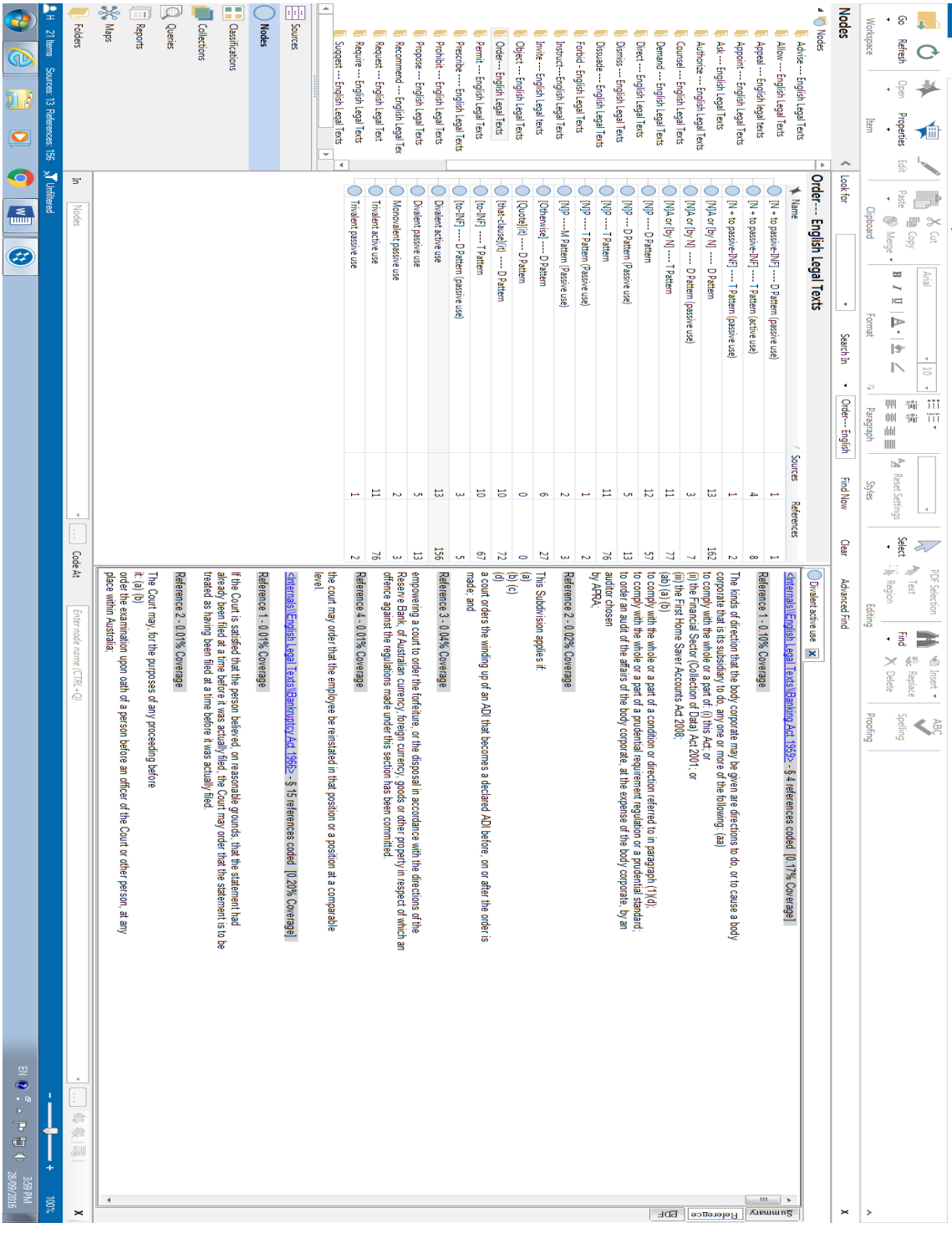

Figure 4-2 A screen shot of the nodes of *order* by NVivo

4.5.2 Qualitative and quantitative analysis

Generally, approaches for analyzing English and Chinese directive SAVs have had a combined qualitative and quantitative basis. In this study, the NVivo analysis was augmented by additional methods of quantitative and qualitative analysis. In particular, in addition to computer-based data processing, manual computation was also needed to identify and categorize the syntactic patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs observed in the corpus. Since there is no one-to-one correspondence between actual illocutionary forces and SAVs, the analysis had to proceed "by hand". All instances of each examined SAV had to be considered carefully to determine whether the verb was being used in its directive sense and was serving the function of creating a directive speech act. This task was extremely labour intensive and time-consuming. After that phase of analysis, the instances of each verb needed to be analyzed and hand-coded one by one at nodes created by the author in NVivo to present different valency sentence patterns, in order to explore the frequencies and distributions of the observed valency sentence patterns for each examined verb. These two methods – automatic extraction and hand-coding – complement each other. The automatic extraction method is able to find all occurrences of a verb in fewer than 20 seconds, but is unable to accurately categorize and code them into different subcategorizations of valency patterns. Compared to automatic parsing, manually coding all three corpora with three million words in total was a much more labour-intensive task, but provided more reliable and accurate results.

In terms of the manual coding for descriptive analysis and quantitative analysis of the valency sentence patterns of English and Chinese directive SAV, I had to select from numerous methods for independent analysis of English and Chinese SAVs. Notable differences are found in the methods of analysis in the two languages. As this study is corpus-based contrastive analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs, the premise is that approaches chosen must be equally suitable for both English and Chinese. Generally, the traditional approaches for analyzing English and Chinese directive SAVs have a qualitative basis rather than a combined qualitative and quantitative basis. In this study, approaches with a different focus were introduced to supplement the traditional approaches to gain a broader description of English and Chinese directive SAVs.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs were performed on several levels including the lexical level, syntactic level and text level. The semantic meaning, syntactic structures and functions of English and Chinese directive SAVs were dealt with in their social-cultural environment.

Before presenting this quantitative analysis of the corpus data, the following chapter will present a qualitative analysis, used to provide a comprehensive description of the semantic components and valency properties of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs, founded on semantic componential analysis and valency analysis of English and Chinese SAVs in the literature. Starting with the discussion of English directive SAVs, the analysis devotes much of its vigour to the comparison and contrast of meaning construction and valency sentence patterns.

Wierzbicka's (1987) elaboration on semantic properties of the English SAVs provided a theoretical basis for the semantic analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs in this study and the natural semantic metalanguage approach proposed by Wierzbicka was therefore be used in examining their linguistic and extralinguistic meaning (see further Section 3.2.3). The purpose of the sememe model developed in this study was to examine both the overt content of the utterance and the illocutionary purpose in making that utterance encoded in the meaning of each English and Chinese directive SAV, as the intention of uttering a SAV contributes to the construction of its meaning. In addition, the illocutionary force and perlocutionary force of different kinds of directive speech acts performed by these SAVs and their implied effectiveness were examined with a view to building up their semantic profile.

In this study, valency analysis has been chosen for the investigation into syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs. As a local grammar of words, valency theory, compared to general grammar, allows a more detailed and comprehensive exploration of sentence composition at different levels. Valency analysis is able to account satisfactorily for a variety of verb complementation patterns and show the connection between sentence elements. Coming from two typologically different languages, English and Chinese directive SAVs might have distinct syntactic patterns. In such a case, the same criteria for classification and labels of syntactic

complement types that suit both languages are proposed to disclose differences between synonymous directive SAVs within and across the two languages. The valency patterns in which English directive SAVs (in their directive sense) occur will be discussed in detail in later chapters based on Herbst *et al.*'s (2004) *A Valency Dictionary of English*. The valency patterns of Chinese directive SAVs were identified by consulting *Baidu Dictionary Online* and *Xinhua Dictionary Online*, two powerful and popular Chinese online dictionaries.

After the valency analyses, the syntactic environments of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legal and general language and the frequencies of occurrences of the examined SAVs were investigated with the aid of the corpus analysis software NVivo, as described in Section 4.5.1.

The analysis sought to establish links between the deep meaning and surface syntactic structures of the examined directive SAVs within each language, mainly on the basis of the data obtained from the comparable corpus. Each examined English and Chinese directive SAVs was firstly investigated based on their own semantic profile and then semantically similar directive SAVs were compared within each language. After looking at the meaning and valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs monolingually, a comparison and contrast was conducted to explore the similarities and differences between the two languages in legal discourse. Based on this analysis, an explanation of the semantic and syntactic differences between English and Chinese directive SAVs is offered from a social-cultural perspective (see Chapter 5 and 6).

Finally, my analytic method turned to the parallel corpus. Being a specialized corpus, the parallel corpus could be used to pinpoint patterning of English and Chinese directive SAVs as well as structural equivalence relationships between original Chinese and English translation texts, and to obtain information on the congruence between the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in the legal genre. Drawing on the parallel data retrieved from the corpus of English translations, I could examine the different English translations of each examined Chinese directive SAV, whether the valency sentence patterns of each Chinese directive SAV were linked to the choice of a

translation equivalent in English, and how likely it was that semantically similar Chinese directive SAVs would be translated the same way (i.e. have consistent translation equivalents).

In the investigation concerning the choice of translation equivalents and their syntactic patterns, each instance of the subject verb in Chinese and its English translation was examined manually to identify the syntactic patterns of the English translation equivalents for the different types of valency sentence patterns of the Chinese SAV. Then the Chinese SAVs were contrasted qualitatively with their equivalents to conduct a thorough analysis of their usage regarding the equivalence between English and Chinese. With reference to the corpus of legal English texts, the parallel corpus also allowed me to identify areas of difference between translated and non-translated texts in English, such as the frequency of occurrences of each examined directive SAV, and therefore to investigate translation effects such as overuse and underuse of certain directive SAVs in translated texts compared to original English texts.

Thus, the analytical tools of componential analysis and valency analysis were used in combination with the methods of corpus linguistics and contrastive analysis, in order to produce intra-lingual and cross-lingual comparisons and comprehensive findings in relation to the research questions.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has described the study's corpus linguistics theoretical framework and dealt with the interlinked methods of analysis. The chapter explained how corpus linguistics, in addition to being a theoretical framework, provides the primary methodology for validating, refuting and refining the hypothesis of this study. The chapter explained that the study's corpus-based semantic and syntactic approaches are complemented by a contrastive analysis in order to capture the semantic and syntactic similarities and differences of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative contexts within and across the languages.

In the present study, corpora of legislative texts in English and Chinese have been compiled as the basis for a contrastive analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs. The data processing methods for the English and Chinese data are a combination of computer-based extraction and

manual computation. A composite approach is taken combining comparable and parallel corpus analysis at lexical, syntactic and macro levels. At the lexical level, the semantic components of each English and Chinese directive SAV are discussed. Their valency sentence patterns are identified and contrasted at the syntactic level within and across the two languages. Then, the differences of usage in terms of lexical variability and frequency profile of English and Chinese directive SAVs in the legal genre are investigated at the macro level. The research method adopted will arrive at the precise meaning of the English and Chinese directive SAVs by focusing on both their semantic primitives and the linguistic behaviour an SAV exhibits particularly in legal contexts.

5 SEMANTIC COMPONENTS AND SYNTACTIC VALENCY COMPLEMENTS OF THE ENGLISH AND CHINESE DIRECTIVE SAVS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will argue, overall, that there is a correlation between the semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in each language and that there is a significant difference in their valency sentence patterns within and across the two languages.

The literature recognizes that English and Chinese directive speech acts can be divided into different categories and that these are labelled differently in each language. Thus, language- and culturally-specific labels for categories of directive SAVs in English and Chinese do not exactly map onto each other, although there are overlaps. Therefore, as established in the Methodology chapters (3) and (4), the overall goal of the analysis in this chapter is a cross-linguistic comparison of a group of semantically similar directive SAVs, to disclose their semantic and syntactic similarities and differences and uncover distinctive conceptualizations of directive speech acts across two cultures. In this chapter, the semantic meanings of the examined English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts will be compared to uncover all possible semantic differences and similarities across the two languages. The contrastive valency analysis will reveal that the valency sentence patterns that a verb can occur within are closely related to their semantic meaning and that semantically similar verbs always share one or more valency sentence pattern.

For the purpose of this study, eight English directive SAVs which are semantically related, and their closest counterparts in Chinese, have been chosen to investigate whether the semantic meaning and syntactic structures are correlated. As the starting point for both the monolingual and then the contrastive language analysis, the semantic meaning of these English and Chinese directive SAVs will be ‘broken down’ by means of componential analysis with reference to their definitions

in established contemporary English and Chinese dictionaries as well as the definitions of English SAVs given by Wierzbicka (1987). The results of this phase of analysis are reported in Section 5.2. Next within Section 5.2, the components will be compared with those of semantically-related verbs in the same language to reveal their common and distinctive features with regard to meaning, and then the cross-linguistic analysis will proceed.

As the next step, this chapter will analyze the valencies of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs, in Section 5.3. A complement inventory that contains possible valency complementation patterns for each examined SAV identified within the valency framework will be represented, with a view to revealing the overall correspondence between semantic components and syntactic patterns. This phase of analysis will also identify syntactic patterns that are common to both languages and syntactic patterns that are specific to English or Chinese, respectively.

5.2 Contrastive semantic analysis of directive SAVs in English and Chinese

The eight English directive SAVs *order*, *command*, *demand*, *tell (to)*, *direct*, *instruct*, *require* and *prescribe* and their closest counterparts in Chinese, identified by using bilingual dictionaries, are listed in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1 The examined English directive SAVs and their counterparts in Chinese

English directive SAVs	Closest counterparts in Chinese
order	命令(*mingling*)，下令(*xialing*)，指令(*zhiling*)，号令(*haoling*),叱令(*chiling*)，喝令(*heling*), 责令(*zeling*)，勒令(*leling*), 吩咐(*fenfu*), 使唤(*shihuan*)，支使(*zhishi*), 发话(*fahua*)
command	命令(*mingling*),下令(*xialing*)，指令(*zhiling*), 号令(*haoling*), 喝令(*heling*), 勒令(*leling*)
tell (to)	命令(*mingling*), 吩咐(*fenfu*), 支使(*zhishi*)
direct	命令(*mingling*), 下令(*xialing*)，指令(*zhiling*)，责令(*zeling*)
instruct	责成(*zecheng*)，指令(*zhiling*)，吩咐(*fenfu*), 责令(*zeling*)
demand	要求(*yaoqiu*)
require	要求(*yaoqiu*)
prescribe	规定(*guiding*)

Reference to bilingual dictionaries is the preferred option for translators to identify the translation equivalents for a verb. However, most English-Chinese bilingual dictionaries only suggest a few of the translation equivalents for a verb rather than the whole range of possible translation equivalents. For example, the Chinese translation equivalent suggested for the verb *order* in the "*Oxford Chinese Dictionary"* is *mingling*, but the verb *order* is suggested as the English translation equivalent for a number of Chinese directive SAVs such as *zhiling* and *xialing* in the dictionary. In addition, the number of translation equivalents suggested varies from dictionary to dictionary. These are all shortcomings of traditional bilingual dictionary entries.

As mentioned earlier (Section 2.5.2.2), the definitions of SAVs in dictionaries are often unspecific and not concrete, and far from being adequate. Many scholars (e.g. Liu, 1996; Wierzbicka, 1987), suggest that SAVs should be defined by sentences rather than by the few words given in most dictionaries, because it is impossible to give an accurate definition simply by interpreting it with a few words. Thus, an adequate definition of a directive SAV should include both linguistic essential parameters such as the cause, purpose and result of the act, and extralinguistic information on institutional facts and social conventions such as the emotional colour of the speaker, speech style, the degree of optionality conveyed by a speech act, the degree of cost-benefit of the requested action for the speaker and hearer, the power relationship between the speaker and hearer in a particular interactional exchange and the expected time of reaction from the hearer.

To provide a more accurate and demonstrable description of the meanings of the investigated directive SAVs in English, Wierzbicka's (1987) dictionary on English SAVs and the illocutionary scenarios proposed by Panther and Thornburg (1998) and Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza (2002) will be drawn upon. The definition for each investigated English and Chinese SAV will be provided with the sememe model that has been developed for this study based on Harras and Winkler's (1994) four roles, Searle's (1969) twelve principles for the classification of SAVs and Wierzbicka's (1987) metalanguage (see Section 3.2.3).

As shown in Table 5-1, there are 15 Chinese directive SAVs that are possible translation equivalents of the eight English directive SAVs and they are all two-word units, including *mingling*,

xialing, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *chiling*, *heling*, *leling*, *zecheng*, *zeling*, *fenfu*, *yaoqiu*, *guiding*, *fahua*, *zhishi* and *shihuan*. Among them, four Chinese verbs *fenfu*, *fahua*, *zhishi* and *shihuan* are excluded from the comparison of valency sentence patterns, because they are oral, colloquial and informal Chinese and rarely occur in written texts.

Some of these English directive SAVs have just one Chinese translation equivalent such as *demand*, *require* and *prescribe*, while some have a wide range of possible Chinese translation equivalents particularly *order*. It is notable that these eight synonymous or near-synonymous English directive SAVs share a number of Chinese translation equivalents. For example, the four English verbs *order*, *command*, *tell* and *direct* share the Chinese translation equivalent *mingling*. Within each language, it is interesting to investigate to what degree the verbs sharing the same valency sentence patterns also share the same semantic components. From a bilingual point of view, it is intriguing to explore whether the translation equivalents of the verbs sharing the same valency sentence patterns are interchangeable.

To serve the purpose of this study, the English directive SAVs and Chinese directive SAVs will be discussed and compared within each language in Section 5.3.1 and Section 5.3.2, respectively. Then a cross-language comparison will be carried out in Section 5.3.3. The English verbs *order*, *command*, *tell (to)*, *direct*, *instruct* and their Chinese translation equivalents will be discussed in a group, while *demand*, *require* and their Chinese translation equivalents will be discussed in a group, due to each group's similarity in meaning. *Prescribe* and its Chinese translation equivalent will be discussed as a pair.

5.2.1 Componential analysis of *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)*, and their Chinese counterparts *mingling*, *xialing*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *chiling*, *heling*, *leling*, *zecheng* and *zeling*

Order, *command*, *direct* and *instruct* are four commonly used English directive SAVs and usually treated as synonymous. Although in some cases they could be substituted for each other, they are far from identical. The possible translation equivalents of the English directive SAVs *order*,

command, *direct*, *instruct* or *tell (to)* include *mingling*, *xialing*, *chiling*, *heling*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *zeling* and *leling* as shown in Table 5-1. In this section, a comprehensive description of the semantic components of these English and Chinese SAVs will be given, including both linguistic and extralinguistic features such as social conventions.

5.2.1.1 The English directive SAVs: *order, command, direct, instruct* and *tell (to)*

The descriptions of the semantic components are represented by symbols (as set out in Section 3.2.3), and then a linguistic description for the semantic components indicated by the symbols will be provided.

{Order} = [S] ∧ P ∧ [(a state of affairs or action) O/ H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) (authoritarian) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: The illocutionary purpose of *order* consists in the speaker's wanting to cause the addressee to do something via the speech act (Wierzbicka, 2007). According to Wierzbicka (2007), *order* presupposes a hierarchical relationship that the speaker has a position of authority over the addressee, and because of such authoritarian assumption, the speaker assumes that the addressee will do what he wants him to do. The degree of optionality conveyed by this directive speech act is very low. The speaker only appeals to the addressee's understanding of what he wants the addressee to do, but does not appeal to the addressee's feelings or goodwill (Wierzbicka, 1987). Accordingly, the addressee's subordination to the speaker may not be voluntary or instantaneous with the speech act, since the reaction has to be mediated through the addressee's understanding.

Thus, performing a successful and non-defective order requires both linguistic facts and extralinguistic facts. The linguistic facts are concerned with language which empowers speakers to issue orders. Extralinguistic facts are concerned with the rules of ordering that speakers have to be in a position of power or authority over the hearers and with the speaker's belief that the hearer is able to perform the future act expressed in the propositional content. In addition, it is unlikely that the hearer will do the act intended by the speaker in the normal course of events of his own accord.

Those facts are not facts of language and are identified as rules of ordering which specify the extralinguistic features of the world.

{Command}= (superiors) [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/H] ∧ (peremptory) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) (authoritarian) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+)(official) [F] ∧ (+) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: The person who *commands* attempts to get the addressee to do something by the speech act (Wierzbicka, 1987). The speaker has institutional authority or power over the addressee and his utterance puts the addressee under a strong obligation to do what he wants him to do. To this extent, *command* is similar to *order*. But in a *command*, the speaker is more like a controller and the addressee is like someone controlled. Unlike *order*, the speaker who *commands* does not appeal to the addressee's understanding, but rather expects to cause an immediate response and an automatic action by the addressee (Wierzbicka, 1987). *Commands* are usually short, frequently perceived as having overtones of urgency and immediacy.

{Direct}= (superiors) [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (directive) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+)(authoritarian) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) (official) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: A person who *directs* someone to do something wants to cause the addressee to do these things by appealing to the addressee's understanding and conscious cooperation (Wierzbicka, 1987). *Direct* implies a hierarchical and official relationship and is a peremptory speech act. Such power asymmetry to a large degree ensures the success of the act (Wierzbicka, 1987). The speaker only *directs* his subordinates to do something and he assumes that once his subordinates know that he wants to cause them to do, they will be willing to do it (Wierzbicka, 1987). Thus, *direct* normally does not anticipate any possible conflict of wills. It is worth noting that *direct* does not stress the addressee's identity, as it focuses on causing something to be done rather than addressees causing these things to happen (Wierzbicka, 1987).

It has to be noted that the explication stated above for *direct* does not apply to *direct* when its meaning is related to *give directions*. When a speaker *directs* someone to a place, he does not want

addressee to do anything, but to inform the addressee how to find the place (Wierzbicka, 1987). The speaker will not care or take any action if the addressee challenges or refuses to follow his directions. Therefore, *direct* in the sense of giving direction is not taken as a directive SAV.

{Instruct}= [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/H] ∧ (directive) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) (professional) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) (official) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: *Instruct* has two meanings, one is associated with the imperative, one is not. The emphasis of the latter is not on the speaker's will to cause the addressee to do something, but to cause the addressee to know what he should do, which is considered as skill transmission by Wierzbicka (1987). This meaning of *instruct* is not seen as directive and thus will not be included in our discussion.

The illocutionary purpose of *instruct* that is associated with the imperative is to cause the addressee to do something by the speech act. One can only *instruct* his subordinates or someone who will freely accept his wish, such as his lawyer or agent (Wierzbicka, 1987). The speaker who *instructs* does not anticipate any possible conflict of will or potential resistance. *Instruct* assumes a hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee, but since the addressee's subordination to the speaker is voluntary, the relationship is to some degree "a freely accepted professional or quasi-professional relationship" (Wierzbicka 1987, p. 45).

{Tell}= [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (peremptory) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (-) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (-) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: The illocutionary purpose of the person who *tells* someone to do something is to cause the addressee to know what he should do (Wierzbicka, 1987). What the speaker *tells* the addressee to do is often not for the speaker's own benefit. In *telling (to)*, the speaker doesn't assume that he has authority or power over the addressee. The relationship between the speaker and the addressee can be a very wide class of relationships including relationship between friends, superiors and subordinates, parents and children, and teachers and students (Wierzbicka, 1987). What the speaker

assumes is that he can say this to the addressee and that the addressee will do it if the addressee knows what he wants him to do. Furthermore, the stress of *telling (to)* is on the addressee's action. What the speaker wants is the action to be performed by the person addressed. An addressee is treated as a goal and is always required in *telling (to)*.

It is worth noting that the above semantic analysis does not apply to *tell* and *tell (that)*. The semantic meanings of *tell* and *tell (that)* differs considerably from *tell (to)*, as they do not embody the speaker's intention of causing the addressee to do something and thus are not used to perform a directive speech act.

5.2.1.2 Comparison of semantic components of *order, command, direct, instruct* and *tell (to)*

According to the definitions of the five verbs above, it seems obvious that they are very similar in expressing the speaker's intention to cause the addressee to do something. The five verbs all imply that the speaker puts the addressee under a strong obligation to do it with low optionality and assumes that the addressee will do it. As Perez Hernandez and Ruiz de Mendoza point out (2002, p. 274), "if the power of the speaker over the addressee is mutually manifest to both participants, then the act of acceptance is the most prototypical conversational move following an order". If the addressee does not do it, the speaker will not be indifferent and will take certain action. Furthermore, the five verbs are similar to each other in lacking the assumption that what the speaker wants represents a benefit to himself.

A close examination of the definitions of the five verbs above reveals that they differ from each other in one or more semantic components. First, *tell (to)* differs from *order*, *command*, *direct* and *instruct* in lacking authoritarian assumptions, because *tell (to)* does not explicitly spell out the speaker's position of authority (Wierzbicka, 1987). *Tell (to)* also differs from these four verbs with respect to the style. Different from the formal or official character of *order*, *command*, *direct* and *instruct*, *tell (to)* is essentially characterized by its simple and informal style.

Secondly, *command* is more authoritative and stronger than *order*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)*. Unlike *order*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)*, the person who *commands* is not appealing to the

addressee's understanding and consciousness, but is expected to trigger a semi-automatic response (Wierzbicka, 1987). The addressee is given very low or no optionality to choose whether to voluntarily accept the *command*, challenge the *command* or ignore the *command*. The force of a *command*, founded on the speaker's superiority over the addressee, restricts the possible moves of the addressee to the act of acceptance on the most occasions. Therefore, *command* is power oriented and it anticipates possible conflict of wills. By contrast, *order*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* expect the addressee's conscious cooperation and voluntarily accepted subordination, and do not anticipate any possible conflict of will or potential resistance (Wierzbicka, 1987). In case of *order*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)*, the speaker expects compliance, but not blind obedience as *command* does.

Moreover, *command* is always short, normally used in the context where a controller give orders without discussion about them. *Command*, in contrast to *order*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)*, expects to cause an immediate reaction from the addressee and is typically present-oriented (Wierzbicka, 1987). *Order, direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* can be present or future-oriented. Even when they are present-oriented, the addressee will not do the required action simultaneously with the speech act, unlike with a *command*, because they appeal to the addressee's understanding which will lead to delayed response.

Furthermore, *order* can be used about anyone in a position of authority, such as an army officer, a boss, a teacher or a parent. For example, superiors in the army may either *command* or *order* their subordinates, but parents are more likely to give *orders* than *commands* to their child. *Direct* is often used about someone in a superior position within an institution, such as a judge directing jury, a boss directing his/her subordinates (Wierzbicka, 1987). In the case of *instruct*, the nature of relationship "constitutes an aspect of a freely accepted professional or quasi-professional relationship" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 45), which is less hierarchical than in the case of *demand*, *order* and *direct*. For example, a person can *instruct* his/her lawyer or subordinates to do something and assumes that they want to know what they should do and will voluntarily do what is wanted.

Finally, *command*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* are more person-oriented than *order* and *direct* (Wierzbicka, 1987). The stress of *command*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* is on the action by the addressee. According to Wierzbicka (1987), *direct* is expected to cause an action, but the stress is not so much on the identity of the agent of the action. The directing person is motivated by a desire for the things to be done rather than for the addressee to know what he/she should do (as the person *telling* does) (Wierzbicka, 1987). Thus, the speaker's aim can be achieved only when the addressee actually performs the required action. Similarly, *order* is expected to cause something to happen while the person who performs the action and the action itself are less important (Wierzbicka, 1987).

5.2.1.3 The Chinese directive SAVs: *mingling, xialing, chiling, heling, zhiling, haoling, zecheng, zeling* and *leling*

{Mingling} = (superiors) [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ (individual/institution) H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: *Mingling* is the most frequently used Chinese equivalent of the English directive SAVs *order* and *command* and sometimes used as the translation equivalent of *direct* and *tell (to)*. *Mingling* seems to have a combined meaning of *order* and *command*. A person who *mingling* someone do something wants to cause the addressee to do that something by the speech act. The speaker assumes that he/she has superior authority over the addressee and he/she can impose their will on the addressee. The speaker is confident that the addressee will do what the speaker wants him/her to do. Like *order* and *direct*, *mingling* can be present-oriented or future-oriented.

Sometimes *mingling* behaves like *command* and expects a response or action simultaneously, such as "*Ta mingling budui qianjin* (*He commanded the troops, 'move'*)". In many cases, *mingling* behaves like *order* in terms of the expectation of a delayed response or action such as "*Laoban mingling women zhe zhou mo zhiqian jiaochu baogao* (*Our boss ordered us to submit the report by the end of this week*)". *Mingling* can be used to perform a formal act like *ordering*, and also can be more official and an institutionalized act, like *commanding*. Any person who has position of authority, such as a teacher, army officer, boss and parent, can use *mingling* to get the addressee to

do something. Furthermore, like *order* and *command*, *mingling* lacks the assumption that what the speaker *mingling* the addressee to do is for the speaker's own benefit. The use of *mingling* as a directive SAV stresses the addressee's action and the person-oriented character links *mingling* with *command* and sets it apart from *order*.

{Xialing} = (superiors) [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) (official) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: The Chinese directive SAV *xialing* is a common Chinese translation equivalent of the English directive SAVs *order*, *command* and *direct*. The four verbs are similar as all of them are aimed at causing someone to do something and imply a position of authority of the speaker over the addressee which puts the addressee under a strong obligation to do it. The speaker is confident that the addressee will do it. However, *xialing* differs from *order*, *command* and *direct*, in a number of aspects. First, *xialing* is more official and institutional than *order*, *command* and *direct*. Second, usually, *xialing* is performed by the rulers of a country and is aimed at either the entire population or people of a certain category, whereas *order*, *command* and *direct* are often aimed at individuals or a specific group of people. Third, *xialing* implies an absolute superior power of the speaker over the addressees. The speaker does not appeal to the addressees' understanding or feeling, but rather views them as instruments of will and their obedience is taken for granted. In this respect, *xialing* is closer to *command* than to *order* and *direct*. Fourth, in the case of *command*, the speaker expects an immediate, semi-automatic response (Wierzbicka, 1987), whereas like *order* and *direct*, *xialing* can be both present-oriented with the expectation to triggering an immediate reaction and future-oriented referring to the future in its explication.

{Chiling} = [S] ∧ (forceful) P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (imparatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (±) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (-) [Perf]

Discussion: The Chinese directive SAV *chiling* is seen as the translation equivalent of English directive SAVs *order* and *tell (to)*. *Chiling* is similar to *order* and *tell (to)* in expressing the speaker's wanting to cause the addressee to do something by the speech act. Like *tell (to)*, *chiling*

is informal and personal and always directed at a particular addressee. But in the case of *chiling*, the speaker expresses a more or less negative attitude towards the addressee. For example, the speaker may be angry or annoyed with the addressee. By contrast, *order* and *tell (to)* do not imply such an emotional tone. In addition, *chiling* is usually sharp and impulsive, and always carried out by yelling or shouting loudly and seriously. Another difference between *chiling* and *order* concerns the type of speaker's authority over the addressee. In the case of *order*, the speaker's authority is usually derived from social or institutional position, whereas in the case of *chiling*, the nature of the authority is unspecified, and it may be personal, institutional, social or moral. Usually it is used by the speaker to order someone who is younger or lower in status. For example, a girl can *chiling* her boyfriend to do something when she thinks she acts as 'the boss' in their relationship.

{Heling} = [S] ∧ (loudly) P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (-) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: *Heling* is a translation equivalent of the English directive SAVs *order* and *command*. The person who *heling* someone do something wants to cause the addressee to do it by shouting loudly. *Heling* differs in many ways from *order* and *command*. Unlike *order* and *command*, *heling* does not necessarily imply a hierarchical relationship. Like *chiling*, the nature of the speaker's authority is vague. For example, the speaker may have the right to obtain what he/she wants. The speaker assumes that their utterance carries great force which can cause the addressee to do the desired action. In this respect, *heling* is similar to *chiling* and indeed the two verbs are often seen as synonyms. *Heling* differs, however, from *chiling* in its orientation. *Heling* implies that the speaker is shouting at the addressee, but it does not necessarily involve an addressee-oriented negative emotional component. *Heling* can be used with positive, neutral or negative orientation. It is worth noting that *heling* is often used interchangeably with *chiling*, but rarely with *mingling*.

{Zhiling} = (superiors) [S] ∧ (forceful) P ∧ [(instruction) O/ H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) (official) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (-) [Perf]

Discussion: *Zhiling* is a Chinese translation equivalent of the English directive SAVs *order*, *instruct* and *direct*. The person who *zhiling* do something wants to cause the addressee to do it. *Zhiling* is somewhere between *instructing* and *ordering*. *Zhiling* is similar to *instruct* in the speaker's assumption that the addressee wants to know what he/she should do and the addressee's subordination and obedience are voluntary. But different from *instruct*, *zhiling* implies an institutional hierarchical relationship rather than a freely accepted professional relationship as in the case of *instruct*. Moreover, *zhiling* is more official than *order* and *instruct*. For example, one can say "a mother *orders* a child to do something", but not "a mother *zhiling* a child do something".

{Haoling} = [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+)(official) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: The Chinese directive SAV *haoling* is often used as the translation equivalent of *order* and *command*. A person who *haoling* a group of people wants to cause them to do something by the speech act. *Haoling* is an official and institutionalized act, aiming at a group of people rather than an individual. It is often used by an army officer. The speaker assumes that he/she has superior position of authority over the addressees and once the addressees know what he/she wants them to do, they will be willing to do it. *Haoling* lacks the assumption that what the speaker wants the addressees to do is for the speaker's own benefit. The speaker appeals to the addressees' understanding and consciousness of subordination. To that extent, *haoling* is closer to *order* than to *command*.

{Zecheng} = (superiors) [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ (particular person or institution) H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: *Zecheng* is a Chinese translation equivalent of the English directive SAVs *order* and *instruct*. The person who *zecheng* someone do something wants the addressee to do it and expects to cause him to do it by the speech act. The addressee can be a specific person or impersonal bodies such as institutions. The speaker assumes that he has superior authority over the addressee and he can impose a certain range of responsibilities on the addressee. To this extent, *zecheng* is similar

to *order*. But unlike *order*, the speaker's authority in the case of *zecheng* is not a matter of interpersonal relations. The speaker only has authority with respect to certain actions, especially actions related to one's duties and tasks. The speaker assumes that the addressee has to do what he wants him to do with cooperation. For example, one can *zecheng* his subordinates fulfil a task or function, but cannot *zecheng* his equals or superiors. In this respect, *zecheng* is also similar to *instruct*, but *zecheng* is a fairly forceful, official and self-confident act, more so than *instruct*. Furthermore, *zecheng* differs from *order* and *instruct* in the speaker's assumption of a bad situation; the speaker wants the addressee to do something to improve it, as the addressee might be responsible for it. What the speaker wants is the addressee's action and for this reason *zecheng* always requires the target person being mentioned.

{Zeling} = (superiors) [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ (particular person or institution) H] ∧ (imparatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+)[Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+)(official) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: *Zeling* is similar to *zecheng* and *mingling* in expressing the speaker's wanting to cause someone to do something, and like *zecheng* and *mingling*, it is also seen as a translation equivalent of the English directive SAVs *order*, *direct* and *instruct*. The speaker presumes some kind of authority over the addressee and this authority is derived from social or institutional position. *Zeling* does not envisage possible conflict of wills, and the speaker is confident that the addressee will do it. Moreover, *zeling* is similar to *order* in the speaker's stress on causing something to happen and the de-focused position of the addressee. The most obvious difference between *zeling* and *order*, *direct* or *instruct* concerns the speaker's negative assessment of some aspects of addressee's actions. The speaker wants the addressee to do something to stop bad actions. The propositional content of *zeling* usually concerns how to deal with a bad action or situation. For example, "*Pingxiang yi qiye weifa paiwu bei jubao, bei huanbao bumen zeling tingchan gaizheng* (The illegal pollution discharge by an enterprise in Pingxiang was reported and it was *ordered* to stop production for rectification)". In this respect, *zeling* is closely related to *zecheng*, but *zeling* is usually stronger and more official than *zecheng*.

{Leling} = (superiors) [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: The Chinese directive SAV *leling* can be used as the Chinese equivalent of both *order* and *command* according to the context. The person who *leling* someone do something wants the addressee to do it and compels obedience from the addressee by its authority or power. *Leling* is different from *order*, and similar to *command* in its formal, forceful and peremptory character. So, a mother is unlikely to *leling* a child. Like *command*, *leling* does not appeal much to the addressee's understanding and takes addressee's compliance for granted. Furthermore, *leling* differs from *order* and *command* in an addressee-oriented negative emotional component. *Leling* involves a negative judgement about an action of the addressee and the speaker has feelings of displeasure or anger. What the speaker *leling* the addressee to do is a form of punishment, which will cause a bad feeling of the addressee. *Leling* is always severe and abrupt and the attitude of the speaker is much more emotional than the person who *orders*.

5.2.1.4 Comparison of semantic components of *mingling, xialing, chiling, heling, zhiling, haoling, zecheng, zeling* and *leling*

There can be no doubt that these nine Chinese directive SAVs which are commonly used as the translation equivalents of the English directive SAVs *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct* or *tell (to)*, are closely related to each other in different ways. Generally speaking, all the nine examined Chinese SAVs are aimed at causing someone to do something by the speech act. They are similar in their peremptory character and the speaker's assumption that his expressed wishes will be met with compliance. However, varied differences among these verbs are captured in their explicit semantic representations, as presented in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2 Significant semantic features of *mingling, xialing, chiling, heling, zhiling, haoling, zecheng, zeling* and *leling*

	authoritarian assumptions	official style	aimed at individual target person or groups of people limited in size	action-oriented	person-oriented
mingling	√	√	√		√
xialing	√	√		√	
chiling			√		√
heling			√	√	
zhiling	√	√	√	√	
haoling	√	√			√
zecheng	√	√	√		√
zeling	√	√	√	√	
leling	√		√		√

As pointed out earlier, *mingling*, *xialing*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *zeling* and *leling* all imply that the speaker has some sort of institutional authority or superior power over the addressee, and they are more official and institutional than *chiling* and *heling*. Since *mingling*, *chiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng* and *leling* are always directed at a particular addressee, they usually take a direct personal object. However, *xialing*, *heling*, *zhiling* and *zeling* focus more on the possible action and they are more likely to occur with a verb phrase or clause, particularly *xialing* which is more public than the other eight Chinese verbs, normally aimed at the whole population or people of a certain type.

Chiling and *heling* are described as synonymous verbs. The speech acts denoted by these two verbs are performed by shouting loudly and the nature of the speaker's position of authority over the addressee is not necessarily institutional. These features distinguish *chiling* and *heling* from other semantically related Chinese verbs. As mentioned earlier, *heling* differs, however, from *chiling* in its orientation, as *heling* does not necessarily involve an addressee-oriented negative emotional component as in the case of *chiling*. *Heling* can be used with positive, neutral or negative orientation. Moreover, *chiling* is more person-oriented than *heling*.

Zeling and *zecheng* are also treated as synonyms, and they differ from *mingling*, *xialing*, *heling*, *chiling* and *haoling* in the speaker's assumption of the bad situation. *Zeling* and *zecheng* imply that something bad has happened and the speaker wants to cause the addressee to do something to deal with it, such as taking certain measures that can prevent it getting worse or completely change the

situation. However, the emphasis of *zecheng* is much more on the addressee, whereas *zeling* focuses more on the desired action or the outcome.

Although *leling* also involves a negative judgement about an action of the addressee, it differs from *zecheng* and *zeling* in many aspects. First, in the cases of *zecheng* and *zeling*, the bad situation is not necessarily caused by the addressee, whereas in the case of *leling*, the speaker assumes that the addressee is the person who performed a bad action. Second, the desired action of the addressee in *zecheng* and *zeling* is meant to avert the bad situation, whereas the desired action in *leling* is a form of punishment on the addressee, to avenge not avert. Finally, *leling* implies that the speaker wants the addressee to feel bad as a result of the speaker's utterance, but *zeling* and *zecheng* do not imply such feelings.

5.2.1.5 Comparison of semantic components of *order, command, direct, instruct* and *tell (to)*, and their Chinese counterparts *mingling, xialing, zhiling, haoling, chiling, heling, leling, zecheng* and *zeling*

As can be seen from the discussion above, there is a great degree of differentiation between the examined English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts in terms of their semantic components.

Semantically the English directive SAVs *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* and their Chinese counterparts *mingling*, *xialing*, *chiling*, *heling*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *zeling* and *leling* do not exactly map onto each other across languages. Some English directive SAVs seem to be more general than their counterparts in Chinese. For example, the English verb *order* does not specify the manner of the speaker to perform an act, while its Chinese counterparts *chilling*, *heling* and *leling* are typically quite specific regarding how the speaker asks the addressee to perform the desired action. *Heling* means ordering by shouting loudly. Similarly, *chiling* is usually sharp and impulsive, and carried out by yelling or shouting loudly. *Leling* is normally abrupt and severe.

Table 5-1 shows that *mingling* is shared by *order*, *command*, *direct* and *tell (to)*. *Mingling* is similar to *order*, *command*, *direct* and *tell (to)* in demanding addressee's obedience and execution. As discussed earlier, *mingling* seems to have a combined meaning of *order* and *command*. The speaker's authority over the addressee in the case of *mingling* can be institutional as in the cases of *command* and *direct*, or be personal, social or moral as in the cases of *order*. Moreover, *mingling* can be either present-oriented as *command* or future-oriented as *order* and *direct*. *Mingling* is more formal and less impersonal than *tell (to)*.

Order, *command* and *direct* share the Chinese translation equivalent *xialing*. As pointed out earlier, they share the illocutionary purpose and the speaker's assumption of the hierarchical relationship. But *xialing* is more official and institutional than *order*, *command* and *direct*. Usually, *xialing* is performed by the rulers of a country and is aimed at either the entire populations in the country or people of a certain category rather than individuals or a group of people limited in size as in the cases of *order*, *command* and *direct*. *Xialing* is closer to *command* than to *order* and *direct* in implying that the speaker does not appeal to the addressees' understanding or feeling, but rather views them as instruments of his will. But unlike *command*, *xialing* can be both present-oriented with the expectation to triggering an immediate reaction and future-oriented referring to the future in its explication.

Another Chinese directive SAV that is shared by *order*, *command* and *direct* is *zhiling*. As pointed out in Section 5.2.1.3, *zhiling* is somewhere between *instructing* and *ordering*. *Zhiling* is closer to *instruct* than to *order* and *command* in the speaker's assumption that the addressee wants to know what he should do and the addressee's subordination and obedience are voluntary. But *zhiling* is more official than *order* and *instruct*. Different from *instruct* and *order*, and similar to *command*, *zhiling* implies an institutional hierarchical relationship rather than a personal or freely accepted professional relationship.

The Chinese directive SAVs *zecheng* and *zeling* differ from their English counterparts *order*, *direct* or *instruct* in the speaker's assumption of a bad situation or a bad action and in their propositional content concerning an action to manage the bad situation. Such semantic meanings, encoded in

zecheng and *zeling*, can sometimes be retrieved from the context, and sometimes have to be presented with the help of adverbs or other types of linguistic items.

The Chinese directive SAV *leling* can be used as the Chinese equivalent of both *order* and *command* according to the context. As discussed earlier, *leling* is more formal and forceful than *order*. A mother can *order* a child, but is less likely to *leling* a child. *Leling* differs from *order* and *command* in having an addressee-oriented negative emotional component, as the speaker who *leling* assumes that the addressee has done something bad and the speaker has a feeling of displeasure or anger. What the speaker *leling* the addressee to do is a form of punishment, which will cause a negative feeling within the addressee. *Leling* is always severe and abrupt and the attitude of the speaker is much cooler and less emotional than the person who *orders*.

The diversity of the Chinese directive SAVs with distinct semantic components is mainly due to the "compound" nature of word formation for Chinese. Most Chinese directive SAVs are created by combining morphemes. Packard (2000, pp. 77-78) called Chinese morphemes "bound roots", as the majority of Chinese morphemes have a lexical nature and the great part of them are bound. According to Giorgio (2007, p. 81), "the constituents of the complex words in Chinese have a strong phonological and semantic stability, showing no significative erosion and maintaining structural and semantic transparence". For example, *zeling* consists of two morphemes *ze* and *ling* which are not usually used by themselves but rather bond with each other or with other constituents. The morpheme *ze* is concerned with making someone realize that he/she has done something bad and making him/her avoid further misconduct. The morpheme *ling* refers to an 'order' aiming at causing the addressee to do something. By combining the two lexical morphemes *ze* and *ling*, a complex word *zeling* is created based on certain syntactic rules and, more importantly, the complex verb *zeling* semantically is a combination of the meanings of the two morphemes and reflects the underlying conceptual structures of the two morphemes. The meanings of the two morphemes have been incorporated into the Chinese directive speech act lexicon. This striking character of the formation of Chinese words is the main reason for the large number of compound directive SAVs in Chinese.

In addition to the factor of the "compound" nature of word formation of the Chinese language, this chapter considers with reservation that the different thinking modes between Chinese-speakers and English-speakers may also constitute another factor in the distinctive semantic meanings of English and Chinese directive SAVs. According to Jin and He (2013), the thinking mode of Chinese people tends to be visual and concrete, whereas the thinking mode of westerners is more abstract. Such different thinking modes are reflected in the meaning construction of verbs in the two languages: Chinese verbs are more straightforward and concrete to express or interpret human action than verbs in English (Jin & He, 2013). That may partly explain why Chinese directive SAVs are usually more specific and concrete in meaning than their English counterparts. Furthermore, the long historical development of Chinese characters and words may also contribute to the dramatic diversity of Chinese directive SAVs. A considerable number of modern Chinese SAVs are evolved from Archaic or Old Chinese and Middle Chinese counterparts such as *chiling*, *leling*. All these various factors may contribute to the linguistic difference between English and Chinese directive SAVs and explain the reasons why English directive SAVs usually have more than one Chinese translation equivalents that express similar but not identical meaning.

5.2.2 Componential analysis of *demand* and *require*, and their Chinese counterpart *yaoqiu*

This section consists of describing and comparing the semantic components of *demand* and *require*, and their most common Chinese translation equivalent *yaoqiu*.

5.2.2.1 The English directive SAVs: *demand* and *require*

{Demand}= [S] ∧ (firmly) P ∧ [(an action or its outcome) O/ H] ∧ (directive) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (-) [Rel] ∧ (speaker) [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres]

Discussion: The intention of the person who *demands* something is to express wanting to cause something to happen, and implies that the addressee (or some other designated person) has to cause it to happen (Wierzbicka, 1987). The implication that the addressee has to do what the speaker wants him/her to do links *demand* with *order* and *require*.

But unlike *order*, *demand* and *require* do not imply that the speaker has personal authority or power over the addressee (Wierzbicka, 1987). The person who *demands* assumes that he/she has the right to cause something to happen (Wierzbicka, 1987). Indeed, the speaker is aware that the addressee or other designated persons will be reluctant to comply, but he/she wants to convince them that they have to do it, because the speaker expects that under the circumstances in this particular case the utterance carries great force (Wierzbicka, 1987). In other words, the addressee has to cause the speaker's expressed desire to be fulfilled after recognizing the force by assessing the situation. Thus, the speaker who *demands* appeals to not only the addressee's understanding of particular utterances, but also the addressee's assessment of the force of the utterances in that particular situation. The speaker regards the addressee as an intelligent creature, capable of understanding the situation and expects compliance with expressed wishes (Wierzbicka, 1987).

Another difference between *demand* and *order* as well as *require* is related to the cost and benefit of the desired action. What the speaker *demands* usually represents a cost to the addressee and a benefit to the speaker. *Order* and *require* do not imply that.

Furthermore, a *demand,* on some occasions, is primarily aimed at the outcome of an action, not so much on the agent of the action or the action itself, and thus the action is not necessarily to be mentioned (Wierzbicka, 1987). In this respect, *demand* is closer to *require* than to *order*, as *require* can also occur without an action to be mentioned.

{Require}= [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (directive) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (professional hierarchical) [Rel] ∧ (speaker) [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres]

Discussion: The person who *requires* something wants to cause the addressee to cause it to happen (Wierzbicka, 1987). In *requiring,* the speaker expresses a strong will to cause something to happen and embodies a great degree of strength. *Require* puts the addressee under a strong obligation to comply, but the illocutionary force is not derived from speaker's authority over the addressee as in the case of *order*. *Require* implies that, due to the roles or status of the speaker and the addressee on a particular occasion, the speaker can impose an obligation on the addressee and "this obligation

doesn't apply to other things that the speaker may want the addressee to do" on other occasions (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 47).

The speaker often presupposes that there is a specific reason to cause the addressee to carry out the required action on that particular occasion (Vanderveken, 1990). In this sense, *require* seems to have virtually the same assumption of authority as *demand*. One difference between them concerns that "to *require* something is to *demand* it with the additional preparatory condition that it needs to be done" (Vanderveken, 1990, p. 193).

5.2.2.2 The Chinese directive SAV: *yaoqiu*

{Yaoqiu}= [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (-) [Rel] ∧ (speaker) [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: Saying '*Wo yaoqiu* … (I *yaoqiu*…)' is similar to saying 'I demand…' and 'I require…'. *Yaoqiu* seems to be a combination of the two distinct English verbs *demand* and *require*. The speaker who *yaoqiu* is expressing wanting to cause something to happen. *Yaoqiu* lacks the assumption that the speaker has superior authority over the addressee. The speaker anticipates that the addressee will comply with his/her will because the speaker assumes that in that particular case he/she has the right or good reason to cause the desired action to be carried out and on that particular occasion this utterance carries great force.

Thus, one can *yaoqiu* subordinates do something, but also *yaoqiu* equals or superiors under the circumstances that the speaker thinks they have to do the thing that he/she wants them to do on that particular occasion. Furthermore, the stress of *yaoqiu* is not so much on the target person who is supposed to carry out the desired action as on the outcome of the action or the action itself. In style, *yaoqiu* is usually expressed formally and firmly.

5.2.2.3 Comparison of semantic components of *demand* and *require*, and their Chinese counterpart *yaoqiu*

This section will compare *demand* and *require*, with their Chinese counterpart *yaoqiu*. After examining the semantic meaning of the three verbs, the Chinese verb *yaoqiu* seems to be a mixture of *demand* and *require*. *Yaoqiu* is similar to *demand* and *require* in the illocutionary purpose of causing the addressee to do something, in the implication of the speaker's certainty regarding the outcome, and in lacking an assumption of hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee. In style, *yaoqiu* is usually expressed formally and firmly, like *demand* and *require*.

Yaoqiu overlaps much with *demand* as they both imply that the speaker assumes that he/she has right or a good reason to obtain what they want. *Yaoqiu* also expresses the concept of *require* because both imply that, due to the roles or status of the speaker and the addressee on a particular occasion, the speaker can impose an obligation on the addressee and this obligation does not apply to other occasions (Wierzbicka, 1987). Like *demand*, the stress of *yaoqiu* is not so much on the agent of an action as the action itself or the outcome of the action, but *yaoqiu* can take the addressee as its direct object. In this respect, *yaoqiu* is closer to *require* than *demand*. Another similarity relevant to their syntactic patterns is that *yaoqiu*, *demand* and *require* do not necessarily require an action to be mentioned, and this structure reflects that what the speaker wants is not so much the addressee's action as the outcome of the action (Wierzbicka, 1987).

But *yaoqiu* does not fulfil the same function as *require* does in English. *Require* in legislative texts is often used to denote that the desired action must be done according to the law, but *yaoqiu* is not associated with this semantic component. In legislative texts, *require* is usually translated as *guiding* (*prescribe*) instead. This is probably because Chinese and English differ in specific conceptualizations of directive speech acts, though they are similar in certain linguistic manifestations and conceptual mappings.

5.2.3 Componential analysis of *prescribe* and its Chinese counterpart *guiding*

In this section, I will discuss the semantic elements of the English directive SAV *prescribe* and its closest Chinese translation equivalent *guiding* and then compare their semantic components to show the similarities and differences in their semantic meaning.

5.2.3.1 The English directive SAV: *prescribe*

{Prescribe}= [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: The person who *prescribes* wants to cause people of a certain category to know what should be done or how something should be done. *Prescribe* implies that the speaker has authority over the target people. According to Vanderveken (1990), a speaker's position of authority can be based on superior knowledge, as in a medical prescription, or on a claim or right, as in legal documents that *prescribe* conduct. The speaker's authority ensures that by saying what people should do in writing, he/she can cause people to know what they should do and cause them to do it.

According to Wierzbicka (1987, p. 48), *prescribe* can be done "on a person-to-person basis". For example, a doctor can *prescribe* medicines for a patient and such instruction is individual. However, in most cases, *prescribing* is done with a certain category of people rather than an individual person. For example, public *prescribing* may be aimed at all residents in a state, or all participants at a conference. The speaker assumes that people of this particular kind want to know what the speaker says they should do (Wierzbicka, 1987). For example, in patent law, the law-makers assumes that people who want to register their patents want to know what they should do to get the patents registered lawfully. The *prescribing* speaker also expects that people will respond to the speech act with an appropriate action once they know what they should do.

However, Wierzbicka (1987, p. 49) claims that the speaker's expectation that "once the target people know what they should do they will do it, or at least they will try to do it" is not a part of

the meaning of *prescribe*. The example she used to support this claim is that when doctors *prescribe* medicine, they might say, "I'll write you a prescription (for painkillers, etc.) just in case; you may or may not need it, just see how you go" and in such circumstances the target person is not expected to "respond to the speech act with an action". But if the purpose of the doctor who *prescribes* medicine does not consist in causing the target person to take the medicine in any future time, there is no point for the doctor to *prescribe* the medicine. The doctors do expect that when needed the patient will take the medicine prescribed.

Furthermore, what the speaker *prescribes* is often complicated and the people of the specified kind would find it difficult to memorize accurately if it were not written down. That is the reason why *prescribing* is often done in writing.

5.2.3.2 The Chinese directive SAV: *guiding*

{Guiding}= [S] ∧ P ∧ [O/ H] ∧ (imperatival) [A] ∧ (-) [Opt] ∧ (+) [Rel] ∧ [B] ∧ (↑) [Co] ∧ (+) [F] ∧ (±) [Pres] ∧ (+) [Perf]

Discussion: The person who *guiding* something says that he/she wants to cause people of a certain category to know what they should do. *Guiding* is a peremptory and forceful speech act and is always aimed at people of a certain category rather than an individual person. The speaker assumes that he/she has certain authority over the target people and they would want to know what the speaker says they should do or what should be done. The speaker is confident that by saying it, the target people will know what they should do and try to do it. *Guiding* is impersonal and formal, and it is always in writing.

5.2.3.3 Comparison of semantic components of *prescribe* and *guiding*

Prescribe and *guiding* are similar in the speaker's goal that consists in causing people of a certain category to know what they should do (Wierzbicka, 1987). The two verbs are closely related in the implied expectation that once people of the specified category know what they do, they will do it or at least try to do it. Both *guiding* and *prescribe* are concerned more with causing persons of a

certain kind to know what they should do than causing them to do the action. *Prescribe* and *guiding* are also similar in their impersonal and formal style, and they both denote a public speech act.

But unlike *prescribe*, the purpose of *guiding* in some situations also consists in giving information in an exact and detailed way about what the speaker wants to cause a category of people to do. When the stress of *guiding* is more on specifying the required action, *guiding* is normally not translated into *prescribe*, but other verbs which can express the same focus such as *specify*, *state* and *set*, which are supported by my corpus data, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Having described and compared the semantic components of each of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs, their valency sentence patterns will now be investigated in order to disclose possible links between syntactic structures and semantic meaning.

5.3 Valency analysis of English and Chinese directive SAVs

This section will focus on the syntactic aspects in detail, as syntactic valency is taken as the starting point in this study for the contrastive investigation of the semantic and syntactic structures of English and Chinese directive SAVs on the basis of the empirical language data. (That analysis continues in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.) The complements and the valency sentence patterns of English directive SAVs and then of the Chinese directive SAVs will be quantitatively analyzed and then compared. Overall, this analysis will argue that synonymous verbs within each language tend to share a number of valency sentence patterns, while differences in their valency sentence patterns are closely related to their distinctive linguistic and extralinguistic meanings. Further the comparison of the valency sentence patterns across the languages reveals that the valency sentence patterns that an SAV can occur within are closely related to the SAVs' semantic meaning. The English and Chinese directive SAVs will also be discussed in groups or pair according to their similarity in meaning.

This section presents, in table form, complement inventories for the English SAVs under study, and then moves to valency analysis, before repeating these two steps for the Chinese SAVs.

5.3.1 The complements inventory and valency sentence patterns of the English directive SAVs

Based on Herbst *et al*.'s (2004) valency dictionary, the complementation patterns for *order* including all the complements identified for its directive sense are listed in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3 Complement inventory of *order*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** ordered that> <**Sb** ordered Sb to do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb ordered **Sth**> <Sb ordered **Sb** to do Sth>
III	$[\text{that-clause}]_{(it)}$	D	<Sb ordered **that**>
IV	$[\text{Quote}]_{(it)}$	D, T	<Sb ordered **"…"**> <Sb ordered Sb **"…"**>
V	[to-INF]	T	<Sb ordered Sb **to do Sth**>
VI	[ADV]	T	<Sb ordered Sb **+ an adverbial, i.e. an adverb such as *out*>**
VII	[N + to passive-INF]	T	<Sb ordered **Sth to be done**>

The complements that can occur in the directive sense of *command* are listed in Table 5-4.

Table 5-4 Complement inventory of *command*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** commanded that> <**Sb** commanded Sb to do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb commanded **Sth**> <Sb commanded **Sb** to do Sth>
III	$[\text{that-clause}]_{(it)}$	D	<Sb commanded **that**>
IV	$[\text{Quote}]_{(it)}$	D, T	<Sb commanded **"…"**> <Sb commanded Sb **"…"**>
V	[to-INF]	T	<Sb commanded Sb **to do Sth**>

All the complements that can occur in the imperative sense of *direct* are summarized in Table 5-5.

Table 5-5 Complement inventory of *direct*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** directed that> <**Sb** directed Sb to do Sth> <**Sb** directed Sth to be done>
II	$[N]_P$	T	<Sb directed **Sb** to do Sth>
III	$[\text{that-clause}]_{(it)}$	D	<Sb directed **that**>
IV	$[\text{Quote}]_{(it)}$	D, T	<Sb directed **"…"**> <Sb directed Sb **"…"**>
V	[to-INF]	T	<Sb directed Sb **to do Sth**>
VI	[N + to passive-INF]	T	<Sb directed Sth **to be done**>

The complements that can occur in the directive sense of *instruct* are listed in Table 5-6.

Table 5-6 Complement inventory of *instruct*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			2/3
Z pattern			NO
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** instructed that> <**Sb** instructed Sb to do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	T	<Sb instructed **Sb** to do Sth> <Sb instructed Sb **"…"**>
III	[that-clause]	D	<Sb instructed **that**>
IV	[Quote]	D, T	<Sb instructed **"…"**> <Sb instructed Sb **"…"**>
V	[to-INF]	T	<Sb instructed Sb **to do Sth**>

The complementation patterns for *tell* (*to*) including all the complements identified for its directive sense are summarized in Table 5-7.

Table 5-7 Complement inventory of *tell (to)*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			3/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			2/3
Z pattern			NO
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	T	<**Sb** told Sb to do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	T	<Sb told **Sb** to do Sth>
III	[to-INF]	T	<Sb told Sb **to do Sth**>

The complements that can occur in the directive sense of *demand* are listed in Table 5-8.

Table 5-8 Complement inventory of *demand*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** demanded Sth > <**Sb** demanded Sth to be done>
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb demanded **Sth** > <Sb demanded **Sth** for Sb>
III	$[\text{that-clause}]_{(it)}$	D, T	<Sb demanded **that**> <Sb demanded of/from Sb **that**>
IV	$[\text{Quote}]_{(it)}$	D	<Sb demanded **"…"**>
V	[to-INF]	D	<Sb demanded **to do Sth**>
VI	[N + to passive-INF]	D	<Sb demanded **Sth to be done**>
VII	[for N]	T	<Sb demanded Sth **for Sb**>
VIII	[from N]	T	<Sb demanded Sth **from Sb**> <Sb demanded **from Sb** that>
IX	[of N]	T	<Sb demanded Sth **of Sb**> <Sb demanded **of Sb** that>

The valency complements identified for *require* are listed in Table 5-9.

Table 5-9 Complement inventory of *require*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			NO
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** required that> <**Sb** required Sb to do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb required **Sth** > <Sb required **Sb**> <Sb required **Sb** to do Sth>
III	$[\text{that-clause}]_{(it)}$	D	<Sb required **that**>
IV	[to-INF]	T	<Sb required Sb **to do Sth**>
V	[V-ing]	D	<Sb required **doing Sth**> <Sth is required **doing Sth**>
VI	[N + to passive-INF]	T	<Sb directed Sth **to be done**>
VII	[of N]	T	<Sb required Sth **of Sb**>
VIII	[for N]	T	<Sb required Sth **for Sth/Sb**>
IX	[from N]	T	<Sb required Sth **from Sth/Sb**>

The complements identified for the English directive SAV *prescribe* are listed in Table 5-10.

Table 5-10 Complement inventory of *prescribe*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/2
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/2
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D	<**Sb** prescribed that> <**Sb** prescribed Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	D	<Sb prescribed **Sth** >
III	[that-clause](it)	D	<Sb prescribed **that**>
IV	[wh-clause]	D	<Sb prescribed **which …**>

Having presented the complements identified for the directive sense of the English directive SAVs under study, and the number of complements required for the verbs to occur in an acceptable sentence, this section will compare the identified valency sentence patterns of *order*, *command*, *demand*, *tell (to)*, *direct*, *instruct*, *require* and *prescribe*, which are closely related on a semantic basis,. It will show that no valency sentence pattern is shared among the eight verbs. Table 5-11 gives an overview of their identified valency sentence patterns.

Table 5-11 Identified valency patterns of *order, command, demand, tell (to), direct, instruct, require* and *prescribe*

	order	command	demand	tell (to)	direct	instruct	require	prescribe
N_A+V+N_P	√	√	√				√	√
N_A+V+ that-clause	√	√	√		√	√	√	√
N_A+V+ Wh-clause								√
N_A+V+Quote	√	√	√		√	√		
N_A+V+ to-INF			√					
N_A+V+V-ing							√	
N_A+V+N_P+ADV	√							
N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	√	√		√	√	√	√	
N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF	√		√		√		√	
N_A+V+ N_P+Quote	√	√			√	√		
N_A+V+ from N+that-clause			√					
N_A+V+ of N+ that-clause			√					
N_A+V+N_P+for N			√				√	
N_A+V+N_P+from N			√				√	
N_A+V+N_P+of N			√				√	

As can be seen in Table 5-11, *demand* has the most versatile patterns with 10 different identified valency sentence patterns, followed by *require* and *order* with eight and seven valency sentence patterns, respectively. *Tell (to),* with only one identified valency sentence pattern, has the fewest number of patterns. The divalent pattern <N_A+V+ that-clause>, highlighted in blue, can occur with seven verbs, i.e. all except *tell (to)*. In this divalent pattern, SAVs are directly followed by a *that*-clause which is concerned with what the speaker wants the addressee to do. In such a pattern, the addressee is not directly 'hit' by the speaker's wanting and thus it is relatively impersonal. This syntactic fact fits in very well with the semantic fact that *tell (to)* is personal and informal whereas *order*, *command*, *demand*, *direct*, *instruct*, *require* and *prescribe* are formal and much less personal.

Moreover, with the exception of *tell (to)*, all the other seven verbs imply a hierarchical relationship between the speaker and addressee. For the verbs *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct*, *require* and *prescribe*, the speaker has superior authority or power over the addressee, and in case of *demand* the speaker has certain right to cause something to happen, whereas *tell (to)* does not have such assumption about the hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

One trivalent sentence pattern, <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, highlighted in yellow, occurs with the six verbs *order*, *command*, *tell (to)*, *direct*, *instruct* and *require*. It suggests that it is a blunt wanting and all these verbs are frank directive SAVs. *Prescribe* is also a blunt wanting, but it does not occur in this trivalent sentence pattern, as it is different from these verbs in its goal which consists of directing a certain category of people rather than an individual. Like *prescribe*, the verb *demand* cannot occur in this trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, primarily because *demand* does not take the agent as its direct object since the focus of *demand* is the outcome of the action rather than the action or the agent who carries out the action (Wierzbicka, 1987). *Demand* implies that the speaker has certain right to cause something to happen and expects the addressee to cause it to happen. This reveals that the valency sentence patterns that a verb can occur within largely depend on the verb's semantic meaning and resource situation.

The five verbs *order*, *demand*, *tell (to)*, *direct* and *instruct* are semantically closely related. It is interesting to find that the four verbs *command*, *tell (to)*, *instruct* and *direct* share their valency sentence patterns with *order*. In addition, *order*, *command*, *instruct* and *direct* share three valency sentence patterns, <N_A+V+ that-clause>, <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+Quote>. It also reveals that the valency sentence patterns that a verb can occur within are closely related to their semantic meaning, and that semantically similar verbs always share one or more valency sentence patterns.

The similarity and difference in the meanings of *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* are reflected in the syntax of the five verbs. The valency sentence patterns that the five verbs can occur with are summarized in Table 5-12.

Table 5-12 Comparison of identified valency sentence patterns of *order, command, direct, instruct and tell (to)*

	order	command	tell (to)	direct	instruct
N_A+V+N_P	√	√			
N_A+V+that-clause	√	√		√	√
N_A+V+Quote	√	√		√	√
N_A+V+N_P+ADV	√				
N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	√	√	√	√	√
N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF	√			√	
N_A+V+N_P+Quote	√	√		√	√

Generally speaking, as can be seen in Table 5-3 to Table 5-7, the same number of complements required for each of the five verbs to occur in an acceptable active declarative sentence. A minimum of two complements, which function as the subject and object, are required for the five verbs to occur in an acceptable finite active clause ,as in 'The court may order that the employee be reinstated in that position or a position at a comparable level'. They have a maximum valency of three in a finite active clause, as in 'The Federal Court may order a person to pay a pecuniary penalty for contravening civil penalty provisions'.

When used in a finite passive clause, the five verbs have a maximum valency of three, as in 'The company or registered body has not been ordered to be wound up by the Court'. The three verbs *order*, *command* and *direct* have a minimum valency of one and only the subject is needed, as in 'The Federal Court may, as a preliminary issue, hear and determine the question of the right of the person concerned to apply for revocation of a patent in respect of which a compulsory licence has been ordered'. But for *instruct* and *tell (to)*, both the subject and object need to be used in a passive declarative clause.

As can be seen in Table 5-12, *order* has the most versatile patterns with seven different identified valency sentence patterns, followed by *direct* and *command* each with five valency sentence patterns. *Instruct* can occur in four different valency sentence patterns, while *tell (to)*, with only one valency pattern, has the fewest number of patterns.

Table 5-12 shows that the trivalent pattern with a noun phrase and a *to*-infinitive verbal structure

<N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, highlighted in yellow, can occur with all the five verbs. It suggests that it is a blunt wanting and all these five verbs are frank directive SAVs. The five verbs can take the person who is supposed to carry out the desired action as their direct object, as in this pattern, which reflects the in-focus position of the agent. It is worth noting that *tell (to),* when used in the directive sense, can only be used in this trivalent pattern. One possible interpretation of this fact is that, in *telling (to),* the assumption of speaker's authority is implicit, and in order to achieve the desired illocutionary effect, the speaker attempts to 'hit' the addressee directly with his wanting by using such a structure with the addressee, given the direct object status followed by the desired action.

It is interesting to find out that the semantically similar verbs *order*, *command*, *direct* and *instruct* share most of their patterns, as highlighted in yellow and blue. As discussed earlier, all these four verbs are aimed at causing an action. The four shared patterns have one common feature: they can be used to represent what the speaker wants the addressee to do. It reveals, consistent with the analysis above, that the valency sentence patterns that a verb can occur within are closely related to their semantic meaning.

Table 5-12 reveals that *order* and *direct* have one or more valency sentence patterns that are individual to them. As pointed out earlier, these semantically related verbs are not identical in their semantic meanings. The difference in their valency sentence patterns provides some clues to their semantic meanings.

First, the more action-oriented character of *order* and *direct* are reflected in their valency sentence patterns: they can occur in patterns without the agent who carries out the desired action being mentioned, as in <N_A+V+that-clause (something be done)> and <N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF>. By contrast, *command*, *instruct* and *tell (to),* which are more agent-oriented, cannot occur in such patterns.

Moreover, *order* can take an action noun as its direct object as in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, but *command*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* cannot take an action noun and only the addressee who is supposed to carry out the desired action is given the status of the direct object in this pattern.

Finally, *order* can occur with an adverbial complement, as in the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+ADV> which is not shared with any other verbs in this group. The adverbial complement follows immediately after the direct object (agent) of the verb *order*. The function of the adverbial complement in this pattern is to complete the meaning of the verb *order* and thus it is an obligatory argument.

For example, in 'the teacher ordered them out', if the adverbial 'out' is removed, it will alter the structure and meaning of the verb *order*. *Order* with adverbial complements is essentially to cause an action and the adverbial 'out' represents the outcome of the action. The adverbial complements can be replaced with a verb of motion, as in "the teacher ordered them to go out".

A simple glance of the discussion of the semantic meaning of *demand* and *require* above shows that, basically, the two verbs are semantically similar in expressing the speaker's wanting to cause something to happen. The two verbs are similar in the implication that the addressee has to do what the speaker wants him to do and in lacking the assumption of hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee. In both cases, the obligation imposed on the addressee only applies to a particular thing on a particular occasion. But *demand* is less personal than *require*. What the speaker wants in the case of *demand* is an action or its outcome and the agent of the action is not stressed (Wierzbicka, 1987). The emphasis of *require* is also not so much on the agent of an action as on a certain state of affairs, but the agent is more important in the case of *require* than it is in the case of *demand*.

To find out whether the similarities and differences of the semantic meaning between *demand* and *require* are reflected in their syntax, their valency sentence patterns are compared contrasted, as summarized in Table 5-13.

Table 5-13 Comparison of identified valency sentence patterns of *demand* and *require*

	demand	require
N_A+V+N_P	√	√
N_A+V+ that-clause	√	√
N_A+V+Quote	√	
N_A+V+to-INF	√	
N_A+V+V-ing		√
N_A+V+N_P+to-INF		√
N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF	√	√
N_A+V+ from N+that-clause	√	
N_A+V+of N+ that-clause	√	
N_A+V+N_P+for N	√	√
N_A+V+N_P+from N	√	√
N_A+V+N_P+of N	√	√

Table 5-13 shows that *demand* in the directive sense can occur with ten different valency sentence patterns, whereas the valency patterns *require* can occur within are slightly less versatile. Notably, the two verbs share six patterns, highlighted in yellow. Both *demand* and *require* can occur without an action being mentioned, as in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, which reflect their semantic focus on a state of affairs or the outcome of an action. Moreover, another two shared patterns for *demand* and *require* are patterns in which the agent is not mentioned: <N_A+V+N_P to passive-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+for N>, reflecting the de-focused position of the agent for the two verbs.

In addition, as mentioned earlier, although the speaker who *demands* or *requires* makes no assumption of superior authority or power over the addressee, he/she is confident that the addressee has to do what he/she wants the addressee to do. The speaker's confidence in both cases is also reflected in the verbs' valency sentence patterns. In their shared patterns <N_A+V+N_P>, <N_A+V+N_P to passive-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+for N>, <N_A+V+N_P+from N> and <N_A+V+N_P+of N>, the goal of *demand* and *require* is presented as a direct object without any preposition, which reflects the speaker's confidence that the goal will be achieved. This reveals that the valency sentence patterns that a verb can occur within largely depend on its semantic meaning and resource situation (as with the SAVs above).

One obvious syntactic difference between the two verbs concerns the status of the agent. *Demand* cannot take the target person who is supposed to perform the desired action as its direct object, whereas in the case of *require* the addressee can be given the status of direct object, as in the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>. The distinction of their syntactic patterns reflects their semantic difference that addressee's role is more important in the case of *require* than it is in the case of *demand*.

Furthermore, *demand* can be directly followed by a *to*-infinitive clause, <N_A+V+to-INF>, but *require* cannot. *Require* can be directly followed by a verb in the gerund form, <N_A+V+V-ing>, whereas *demand* cannot occur in such pattern. It seems that there is no big difference in meaning between these two patterns.

In the case of *demand*, the addressee can be introduced by the preposition 'of' or 'from', as in the trivalent patterns <N_A+V+N_P+for N>, <N_A+V+N_P+from N> <N_A+V+of N_P+that-clause> and <N_A+V+from N_P+that-clause>. The prepositional complements 'of' and 'from' represent the agent of the desired action, and the *that*-clause refers to the content of what the speaker wants to happen. However, unlike *demand*, *require* cannot be followed by a prepositional complement plus a *that*-clause.

As can be seen in Table 5-11, *prescribe* can only occur in three divalent valency sentence patterns. The three realization forms of the object of *prescribe* are: with a noun phrase <N_A+V+N_P>, a *that*-clause <N_A+V+that-clause> or a *wh*-clause <N_A+V+Wh-clause>. The noun phrase in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P> refers to a certain state of affairs that the speaker wants the addressees to cause to happen, but the target people who are supposed to carry out the action cannot be given the status of the direct object. The *that*-clause and *wh*-clause in the divalent patterns <N_A+V+that-clause> and <N_A+V+Wh-clause> represent the action that the speaker thinks the target people should do. The syntactic patterns of *prescribe* fit in very well with the semantic components of *prescribing* as an impersonal and public act.

5.3.2 The complements inventory and valency sentence patterns of the Chinese directive SAVs

The valency complements identified for the Chinese verb *mingling* in the directive sense are listed in Table 5-14.

Table 5-14 Complement inventory of *mingling*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** *mingling* Sb> <**Sb** *mingling* Sb do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb *mingling* **Sb**> <Sb *mingling* **Sb** do Sth>
III	[Quote]	T	<Sb *mingling* Sb **"…"** >
IV	[V]	T	<Sb *mingling* Sb **do Sth**>

The valency complements identified for the verb *xialing* are listed in Table 5-15.

Table 5-15 Complement inventory of *xialing*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** dui Sb *xialing* do Sth> <**Sb** *xialing* do Sth>
II	[you N]	D	<**you Sb** *xialing* do Sth>
III	[V]	D, T	<Sb *xialing* **do Sth**> <Sb dui Sb *xialing* **do Sth**>
IV	[Quote]	D	<Sb *xialing* **"…"** >
V	[dui/xiang N]	D	<Sb **dui/xiang Sb** *xialing* do Sth> <Sb **dui/xiang Sb** *xialing* "…" >
VI	Clause	D	<Sb *xialing* **…** >

The complements identified for *chiling* are presented in Table 5-16.

Table 5-16 Complement inventory of *chiling*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** *chiling* Sb> <**Sb** *chiling* Sb do Sth> <**Sb** *chiling* Sb "…" >
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb *chiling* **Sb**> <Sb *chiling* **Sb** do Sth>
III	[V]	T	<Sb *chiling* Sb **do Sth**>
IV	[Quote]	T	<Sb *chiling* Sb **"…"** >

The valency complements with which *heling* can occur are listed in Table 5-17.

Table 5-17 Complement inventory of *heling*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** *heiling* Sb do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb *heling* **Sb**> <Sb *heling* **Sb** do Sth>
III	[V]	D, T	<Sb *heling* **do Sth**> <Sb *heling* Sb **do Sth**>
IV	[Quote]	D, T	<Sb *heling* **"…"**> <Sb *heling* Sb **"…"**> <Sb dui/xiang Sb *heling* **"…"** >
V	[dui/xiang N]	T	< Sb **dui/xiang Sb** *heling* "…" >

The valency complements identified for the verb *zhiling* are shown in Table 5-18.

Table 5-18 Complement inventory of *zhiling*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** *zhiling* do Sth > <**Sb** *zhiling* Sb do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	T	<Sb *zhiling* **Sb** do Sth>
III	[V]	D, T	<Sb *zhiling* **do Sth**> <Sb *zhiling* Sb **do Sth**>

The valency complements identified for the verb *haoling* are listed in Table 5-19.

Table 5-19 Complement inventory of *haoling*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** *haoling* Sb> <**Sb** *haoling* Sb do Sth>
II	[you N]	D, T	<**you Sb** *haoling* Sb> <**you Sb** *haoling* Sb do Sth>
III	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb *haoling* **Sb**> <Sb *haoling* **Sb** do Sth>
IV	[Quote]	T	<Sb *haoling* Sb **"…"** >
V	[V]	D, T	<Sb *haoling* **do Sth**> <Sb *haoling* Sb **do Sth**>
VI	[xiang N]	T	<Sb **xiang Sb** *haoling* do Sth> <Sb **xiang Sb** *haoling* "…" >

The valency complements identified for the verb *zecheng* are listed in Table 5-20.

Table 5-20 Complement inventory of *zecheng*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	T	<**Sb** *zecheng* Sb do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	T	<Sb *zecheng* **Sb** do Sth>
III	[V]	T	<Sb *zecheng* Sb **do Sth**>

The valency complements identified for the verb *zeling* are listed in Table 5-21.

Table 5-21 Complement inventory of *zeling*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	D, T	<**Sb** *zeling* do Sth> <**Sb** *zeling* Sb do Sth> <**Sb** dui Sb *zeling* do Sth>
II	[you N]	D, T	<**you Sb** *zeling* do Sth> <**you Sb** *zeling* Sb do Sth>
III	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb *zeling* **Sb** do Sth>
IV	[V]	D, T	<Sb *zeling* **do Sth**> <Sb *zeling* Sb **do Sth**>
V	[dui N]	D, T	<Sb **dui Sb** *zeling* do Sth> <**dui Sb** you Sb *zeling* do Sth>

The valency complements that *leling* can occur with are presented in Table 5-22.

Table 5-22 Complement inventory of *leling*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [by N]	T	<**Sb** *leling* Sb do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	T	<Sb *leling* **Sb** do Sth>
III	[V]	T	<Sb *leling* Sb **do Sth**>

The valency complements that *yaoqiu* can occur with are listed in Table 5-23.

Table 5-23 Complement inventory of *yaoqiu*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [you, rang, or bei N]	D, T	<**Sb** *yaoqiu* do Sth> <**Sb** *yaoqiu* Sb do Sth> <**Sb** xiang Sb *yaoqiu* Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb *yaoqiu* **Sth**> <Sb *yaoqiu* **Sb** do Sth>
III	[V]	T	<Sb *yaoqiu* Sb **do Sth**>
IV	Quote	T	<Sb xiang Sb *yaoqiu* **"…"**>
V	[xiang N]	T	<Sb **xiang Sb** *yaoqiu* Sth>

The complements and the valency patterns that *guiding* can occur with are illustrated in Table 5-24.

Table 5-24 Complement inventory of *guiding*

Quantitative Valency			
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite active clause			2/3
Minimum and maximum valency complements in a finite passive clause			1/3
Z pattern			YES
Qualitative Valency			
	Complements	**Patterns**	**Examples**
I	$[N]_A$ / [you, rang, or bei N]	D, T	<**Sb** *guiding* Sth> <**Sb** *guiding* Sb do Sth>
II	$[N]_P$	D, T	<Sb *guiding* **Sb**> <Sb *guiding* **Sb** do Sth>
III	[V]	T	<Sb *guiding* Sb **do** Sth>
IV	[V-clause]	D	<Sb *guiding* **…**>
V	Quote	D	<Sb *guiding* **"…"**>

In order to disclose the similarities and differences in the semantic components of the semantically related Chinese SAVs whose complemented inventories are tabulated above, and to reveal the possible relation between their semantic meaning and syntactic patterns, the eleven examined Chinese SAVs will now be compared. Their valency sentence patterns as summarized and compared in Table 5-25.

As can be seen from Table 5-25, with nine identified valency sentence patterns, *xialing* can occur in the most varied syntactic environment among the eleven Chinese directive SAVs under investigation, followed by *haoling* and *yaoqiu* each with eight identified valency sentence patterns. Six different valency sentence patterns were identified for *heling*, *zeling* and *guiding*, and four patterns for both *mingling* and *leling*. *Zhiling* and *chilling* have less versatile syntactic environments, with two sentence patterns each. *Zecheng*, with one valency sentence pattern, has the fewest number of patterns.

Table 5-25 Comparison of identified valency patterns of *mingling, xialing, zhiling, haoling, chiling, heling, leling, zecheng* and *zeling*

	mingling	*xialing*	*zhiling*	*haoling*	*chiling*	*heling*	*leling*	*zecheng*	*zeling*	*yaoqiu*	*guiding*
N_P+ you N_A+V				√							√
you N_A+V+N_P				√							√
N_A+V+N_P	√			√						√	√
you N+V+VP		√							√		
N_A+V+ V-clause		√									√
N_A+V+Quote	√	√				√				√	√
N_A+V+VP		√	√	√		√	√		√	√	
N_A+V+N_P+VP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
N_A+V+ N_P+Quote	√				√	√					
N_A+V+N_P+Wh-VP										√	
N_A+ dui N+V+VP		√					√		√		
N_A+ dui N+V+N											√
dui N+ you N_A+ V+VP									√		
you N+V+N_P+VP									√		
N_A+ xiang N+V+VP		√		√						√	
N_A+ xiang N+V+N										√	
N_A+ dui N+V+Quote		√		√		√	√				
N_A+xiang N+V+ Quote		√		√		√				√	

The valency sentence patterns of these eleven semantically related SAVs reflect the similar or different aspects of their semantic meanings. In the divalent pattern, all of them can occur with a subject and an object complement, but the realization forms of the object for each verb varies. For example, the object of *mingling* is realized by a quotation, while *zhiling* and *leling* are realized by a verbal phrase, <N_A+V+VP>. For *haoling*, two realization forms of the object are identified: with a noun phrase <N_A+V+N_P> and with a verbal clause <N_A+V+VP>. The object of *xialing* has three realizations: with a verbal clause <N_A+V+V-clause>, with a quote <N_A+V+Quote> and with a verbal phrase <N_A+V+VP>.

All eleven Chinese directive SAVs under investigation can occur within trivalent sentence patterns, but no one pattern can occur with all these SAVs. As discussed earlier, they have similar illocutionary purposes consisting in causing someone to do something. Table 5-25 shows that, with the exception of *guiding*, the other ten Chinese directive SAVs share the trivalent sentence pattern

<N_A+V+N_P+VP>, which is viewed as a typical pattern for expressing directive meaning in Chinese. They have different trivalent sentence patterns which distinguish them from each other, with the exception of *zhiling* and *zecheng*. For example, the verbs *mingling*, *chiling* and *heling* can be used with the reported structure <N_A+V+N_P+Quote> to indicate direct speech; *xialing*, *haoling*, *heling*, *zeling*, *leling* and *guiding* can be used with the prepositional complement *'dui'* as in <N_A+dui N+V+N>, <dui N+you N_A+V+VP> or <N_A+dui N+V+Quote>; and *xialing*, *haoling*, *heling* and *yaoqiu* can be used with the prepositional complement *'xiang'* as in <N_A+ xiang N+V+VP> and <N_A+xiang N+V+Quote>.

As pointed out earlier, *mingling*, *xialing*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *zeling*, *leling* and *guiding* all imply that the speaker has some sort of institutional authority or superior power over the addressee, and they are more official and institutional than *chiling* and *heling*. Such semantic differences are reflected in their ability to take both an individual or an institution or impersonal agent as their subject, whereas *chiling* and *heling* normally can only take a personal subject.

Valency sentence patterns which reflect the semantic differences among these Chinese SAVs also include different co-occurrence with prepositions and the kind of direct object allowed by each verb. Since *mingling*, *chiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *leling* and *yaoqiu* are always directed at a particular addressee, they usually take a direct personal object. However, *xialing*, *heling*, *zhiling*, *zeling* and *guiding* focus more on the possible action and they are more likely to occur with a verb phrase or clause.

Chiling and *heling* are described as synonymous verbs. The fact that both *chiling* and *heling* take the addressee rather than utterance as their direct object highlights the similarity between the two verbs in their illocutionary purpose of causing an action by the addressee. The speech acts denoted by these two verbs are performed by shouting loudly and the nature of the speaker's position of authority over the addressee is not necessarily institutional. These features distinguish *chiling* and *heling* from other semantically related Chinese verbs. As mentioned earlier, *heling* differs, however, from *chiling* in its orientation, as *heling* does not necessarily involve an addressee-oriented negative emotional component as in the case of *chiling*. *Heling* can be used with positive, neutral or negative

orientation. Moreover, *chiling* is more person-oriented than *heling*. This semantic difference is reflected in their valency sentence patterns, as *heling* can take a personal direct object or a verb phrase that functions as the object, whereas *chiling* can only take a personal direct object, as shown in Table 5-25.

Zeling and *zecheng* are also treated as synonyms, and they differ from *mingling*, *xialing*, *heling*, *chiling* and *haoling* in the speaker's assumption of a bad situation. *Zeling* and *zecheng* imply that something bad has happened and the speaker wants to cause the addressee to do something to deal with it, such as taking certain measures that can prevent it getting worse or can completely change the bad situation. However, the emphasis of *zecheng* is much more on the addressee, whereas *zeling* focuses more on the desired action or the outcome. This explains why *zeling* can occur with a verb phrase without the agent being mentioned, whereas *zecheng* always takes a personal direct object.

Although *leling* also involves a negative judgement about an action of the addressee, it differs from *zecheng* and *zeling* in many aspects. First, in the cases of *zecheng* and *zeling*, the bad situation or bad things are not necessarily caused by the addressee, whereas in the case of *leling*, the speaker assumes that the addressee is the person who caused the situation. Second, the desired action of the addressee in *zecheng* and *zeling* is meant to avert the bad situation, whereas the desired action in *leling* is a form of punishment of the addressee. Finally, *leling* implies that the speaker wants the addressee to feel bad as a result of the speaker's utterance, but *zeling* and *zecheng* do not imply such feelings. Since *leling* stresses both the addressee's action and the addressee's feeling, *leling* always takes the addressee as its direct object or introduces the addressee by the preposition '*dui*' as shown in Table 5-25.

Xialing is more public than the other eight Chinese verbs, normally aimed at the whole population or people of a certain kind. It can take the addressee phrase as its direct object, but it usually takes a clause as its object complement, which suggests that *xialing* is more desirable for use in a less personal and less direct way.

As can be seen in Table 5-25, the Chinese directive SAV *yaoqiu* can occur with three divalent sentence patterns, <N_A+V+N_P>, <N_A+V+Quote> and <N_A+V+VP>, and five trivalent sentence

patterns, <N_A+V+N_P+VP >, <N_A+V+N_P+Wh-VP>, <N_A+xiang N+V+VP >, <N_A+xiang N+V+ N> and <N_A+xiang N+V+Quote>. *Yaoqiu* can be directly followed by the target person who is supposed to carry out the desired action, as in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP>. *Yaoqiu* can also take the prepositional complement '*xiang*' which functions to refer to the target person, as in the patterns <N_A+xiang N+V+VP >, <N_A+xiang N+V+ N> and <N_A+xiang N+V+Quote>. *Yaoqiu* necessarily requires an action or the outcome of the action to be mentioned, which reflects the focused position of the action. For example, in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+VP>, *yaoqiu* occurs with a verbal phrase in the object position without the agent being mentioned, suggesting that the agent of the action is not emphasized as much as the action itself.

In the divalent pattern, *guiding* can occur with a subject and an object complement. Three different realization forms of the object are possible for the verb *guiding*: with a noun phrase <N_A+V+N_P>, a verbal clause <N_A+V+V-clause> or a quotation <N_A+V+Quote>. *Guiding* can take the desired state of affairs as the direct object, but cannot take the addressee as its direct object. The syntactic fact reflects the semantic fact that the focus of *guiding* is not so much on causing people of a certain category to do something as causing them to know what should be done.

Guiding can occur with the prepositional complements '*you*' and '*dui*'. As discussed earlier, '*you*' is used to introduce the agent of *guiding*. The '*you*' complement always precedes the main verb. The receiver of the action can be placed before '*you*' <N_P+you N_A+V> or after the main verb <you N_A+V+N_P>. '*Dui*' means 'to' or 'towards' and is used between noun phrases to indicate an object or target. '*Dui*' implies a one-way relationship and expresses that the prescribing goes from subject (the noun preceding '*dui*') to object (the noun following '*dui*').

A comparison of the identified valency sentence patterns for the eleven synonymous and near-synonymous Chinese directive SAVs has shown that none of them can occur with exactly the same valency sentence patterns as another. Despite their distinctive valency sentence patterns, except *guiding*, the other ten Chinese verbs share the trivalent pattern with the direct object realized by a noun phrase representing the addressee and a verbal phrase representing the desired action: <N_A+V+N_P+VP>. Moreover, many of them share a considerable number of patterns which reflects

their similar semantic meanings and extralinguistic features. The data analysis suggests that synonymous and near-synonymous verbs tend to share a number of valency sentence patterns, and their different valency sentence patterns are closely related to their distinctive linguistic and extralinguistic meanings.

5.3.3 Comparison of the valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs

As can be seen from the discussion above, there is a great degree of differentiation between the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in terms of their semantic components, valency complement types and valency sentence patterns within each language. In this subsection, a comparison of the valency sentence patterns across the two languages will be carried out.

From the Table 5-11 and Table 5-25, it can be seen that there is a significant difference in the valency sentence patterns between *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct*, *tell (to) require*, *demand* and *prescribe* and their Chinese counterparts.

For the examined Chinese directive SAVs, a verbal structure construction as a complement is composed of a verb in the base form followed by a complementary element. The verbal structure as a sentence complement of a Chinese directive SAV can either directly follow the SAV to function as its object, as in <N_A+V+VP>, or follow a noun that acts as the direct object of the SAV, as in <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, without any proposition preceding the verbal structure.

However, in English there is no direct syntactic equivalent of the Chinese base form of a verb in an object position or a finite verb followed by a noun plus the base form of a verb. Only two realization forms of the verbal structure as a sentence complement are possible for English directive SAVs: an infinitive or a non-finite *ing*-clause. For example, the most typical verbal structure as a complement of an English directive SAVs is *to*-infinitive following a noun that acts as the direct object of the SAV, as in <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>.

For some English directive SAVs, the infinitive verbal structure can also directly follow the SAVs <N_A+V+to-INF>, such as *ask* and *demand*. However, it has to be pointed out that there are semantic differences between a verb followed by an infinitive and a verb followed by a noun plus an infinitive. For example, in the sentence 'I ask to leave', I am asking if I myself can leave, while in the sentence 'I ask her to leave', I am requesting that she leaves. Thus, the semantic meaning of *ask* in these two structures is different; only in the second sentence is *ask* performing a directive speech act. Most directive English SAVs, including *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)*, when used in the directive sense, cannot be directly followed by an infinitive, but rather by a noun plus an infinitive to denote the addressee and desired action by the addressee. This indicates that the semantic meaning of a verb is closely related to its syntactic patterns.

Thus, the analysis of the corpora confirms that different verbal structures between English and Chinese directive SAVs are largely due to the fact that English and Chinese fall into different language classes. English is a synthetic-analytic language characterized by frequent and systematic use of inflected forms to express grammatical relationships, whereas "Chinese is an analytic language which is characterized by a relatively frequent use of function words, auxiliary verbs, and changes in word order to express syntactic relations, rather than inflected forms" (Zhang, 2007, p. 19).

This morphological cue, inflectional verbs, explicitly marks different syntactic information in English, such as the tense and case. In contrast, Chinese is impoverished in morphological inflections and the syntactic category of a Chinese verb cannot be simply detected by its form (Yang *et al.*, 2015). Unlike English directive SAVs, Chinese directive SAVs are non-inflected and have only one grammatical form: the base form of the verb. Chinese verbs differ from English verbs in serial verb constructions that involve two or more Chinese verbs or verb phrases occurring in sequence without any preposition between them. In English, word order is arranged with the help of inflections and function words, such as prepositions, to express temporal or logical sequences, which results in the flexible word order in English (Zhang, 2007). In contrast, word order in Chinese is relatively rigid, as Chinese makes use of word order to express temporal or logical sequences including the relationship between the subject, the object and the verb (Zhang,

2007). Therefore, the construction of syntactic structure for a Chinese sentence relies mainly on the processing of the lexical and contextual meaning of each individual word rather than grammatical cues and thus "semantic information, rather than syntactic information, has primacy in Chinese" (Yang *et al.*, 2015, p. 11). Such syntactic and grammatical differences between English and Chinese directive SAVs are clearly revealed in their distinctive realization forms of valency complements.

But not all the examined Chinese directive SAVs can occur with a verbal complement directly following. For example, as shown in Table 5-14, *mingling* always occurs with the addressee who is supposed to perform the desired action, which reflects its emphasis on the agent in its semantic meaning. Unlike its English counterparts *order*, *direct* and *tell (to)* and its Chinese synonymous directive SAVs such as *xialing*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *heling*, *leling* and *zeling*, *mingling* normally cannot take an action noun or verb phrase as its direct object.

Furthermore, the constructions of prepositional complements for the examined English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts are largely different. Generally speaking, English is rich in prepositions and prepositional phrases such as 'to', 'for', 'by', 'in', 'on', 'at', 'from' and 'of'. As Bander (1978) points out, prepositions appear constantly in English speech and writing to show the relation between words in a sentence. Compared to English, Chinese has a relatively smaller number of prepositions.

However, as can be seen in Table 5-11, the five English directive SAVs *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* only occur with the preposition 'to', whereas their Chinese counterparts *xialing*, *haoling*, *heling*, *leling* and *zeling* can occur with a larger number of prepositions including '*you*', '*xiang*' or '*dui*' as shown in Table 5-25. It seems that the English legal language in the corpus is unusual in its limited use of prepositions. Nevertheless, the Chinese verbs *mingling*, *zhiling*, *chilling* and *zecheng* cannot occur with any prepositional complements. Their different capabilities to occur with prepositions reflect their distinct semantic features. The Chinese verbs *mingling*, *zhiling*, *chiling* and *zecheng* which do not occur with prepositions '*xiang*' and '*you*' are more direct and personal than *xialing*, *haoling*, *heling*, *leling* and *zeling* that can occur with these prepositions.

The most obvious difference between *prescribe* and *guiding* is also related to prepositional complements. *Guiding* can occur with two types of prepositional complements, '*dui*' and '*you*', whereas *prescribe* normally does not occur with prepositional complement.

Yaoqiu seems to be similar to *demand* and *require* in terms of occurring with a prepositional complement which functions to refer to the agent of the desired action. *Demand* and *require* can also occur with prepositional complements 'of' and 'from' which function to introduce the agent of the desired action, but the position of the prepositions is different. In the case of *yaoqiu*, the prepositional complement '*xiang*' can only precede the verb, whereas the prepositional complements 'of' and 'from' for *demand* and *require* can only directly follow the verb or follow the direct object of the verb.

Most notable in a comparison of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs is that *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct*, *demand* and *require* can occur with clauses introduced by *that*, while only the Chinese directive SAV *xialing* can occur with a verbal clause, but no subordinator or relative pronoun is required to introduce the clause. English directive SAVs use the subordinating conjunction *that* to clarify the logical relationship between clauses. In English *that* followed by a finite clause packages and expresses information in a more complex form. *That*-clauses can be positioned before a verb to function as the subject of the main clause or after the verb to function as the object of the main clause. For English directive SAVs under investigation, *that*-clauses mostly function as the object of the verb, and the subordinator *that* does not carry meaning but serves as a subordinate marker which signals that a finite clause is to follow. The relations between words, phrases or clauses are thus clarified. In contrast, Chinese directive SAVs rarely express the logical relationship between clauses by subordinating conjunctions. Clauses in Chinese are arranged one after another without any cohesive ties such as connectives and relatives. Rather, the relation between clauses in Chinese is commonly implied by coherence and context, as the word order in Chinese is arranged according to temporal or logical sequences.

With the extensive use of subordinate structures, English sentences are comparatively longer and more complex than Chinese sentences. Chinese is characterized by the frequent use of shorter and

composite structures including four-character expressions, contracted sentences and plenty of rhetorical devices such as antithesis and parallelism.

Another obvious difference between the examined English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts concerns the passive structure. As can be seen in Table 5-11, *order* and *direct* can occur with the trivalent pattern with an object complement and a passive *to*-infinitive clause <N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF>. By contrast, there is no equivalent structure for their Chinese counterparts, because when Chinese verbs express passive sense, there is a clear subjective tendency by using the active voice (Zhang, 2007). Voice defines the relationship between a verb and its subject (Baker, 2011, p. 112). The subject in an active clause is the agent who performs the action, while the subject in a passive clause is the recipient who is affected by the action. As Altick (1956, p. 83) puts it,

> The passive voice allows one to express ideas without attributing them to a specific individual source. That is why it is so widely used in government communications, in which decisions and opinions are presumed to be those of the bureau or agency as a whole and not of individual officials.

English verbs are inflected to indicate their relationship with the subject in the passive, while the form of the Chinese verbs does not change in a passive structure. Chinese verbs in active form might be either active or passive in sense. The passive is expressed in Chinese by means of word order and function word rather than inflected verbs, and generally the passive meaning can be implied by context (Ross & Ma, 2006). Thus, English depends on the clause-level syntax with the morphological modification of the past participle (passive form) to convey passiveness, while Chinese relies on the verb-level syntax or semantic feature (passive sense) to interpret passive voice (see Ho, 2009; Liu, 2016).

Despite the differences stated above, the examined English directive SAVs show a notable similarity to their Chinese counterparts in their valency complements and patterns. As can be seen in Table 5-11 and Table 5-25, all the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs syntactically prefer personal direct objects and verbal complements, as in <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+VP>. One reason for this would be that the speaker's wanting can be clearly exhibited

in such sentence structures. They are all peremptory speech acts aiming at causing the addressee to do something by the speech act. The speaker just says bluntly what he/she wants the addressee to do, and wants the addressee to be affected directly by his/her desire.

For example, *demand* and *require* are similar to their counterpart *yaoqiu* in occurring with verbal complements, although the realization form of the verbal complements for the three verbs varies. *Demand* can take a *to*-infinitive clause in the object position <N_A+V+to-INF> or a *to* passive-INF clause following the direct object <N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF>. The realization form of the verbal complements for the verb *require* include a non-finite ing-clause in the object position <N_A+V+V-ing>, a *to*-infinitive clause <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> or a *to* passive-INF clause following the direct object <N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF>. For *yaoqiu*, there is only one realization form of the verbal complement: verbal phrase without inflection which can either directly follow the verb or follow the direct object of the verb. As discussed earlier in this section, this difference is mainly due to the different grammatical systems of the two languages. Chinese is an uninflected language and the concept of time is expressed through word order, adverbials or shared understanding of the context. By contrast, English is an inflected language and conveys meaning by using different tenses and verb forms. Despite the differences in the form of the verbal phrases for *demand*, *require* and *yaoqiu*, the verbal structures in English <N_A+V+to-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and the verbal structures in Chinese <N_A+V+VP> and <N_A+V+N_P+VP> are often treated as equivalent structures as they have same function in the syntactic structure and conveying meaning.

Furthermore, the English directive SAVs *order*, *command*, *direct* and *instruct* and some of their Chinese counterparts including *mingling*, *xialing*, *chiling*, *haoling*, *heling* and *yaoqiu* can occur with a quotation which sets forth what the speaker wants the addressee to do. The quotation may directly follow the verb or the personal direct object of the verb, or precede the sentence, usually separated by commas, as in <N_A+V+Quote> and <N_A+V+N_P+Quote>.

Last but not least, the syntax of the English and Chinese directive SAVs under investigation supports the posited break down of semantic components. For example, *guiding* and *prescribe* normally do not take an addressee phrase as their direct object. *Prescribe* can take a *that*-clause or

can be used in '*prescribe* something' but not in '*prescribe* someone to do something'. The syntax of *guiding* is virtually the same: either it takes a verbal clause or a noun as its direct object. This is mainly due to these SAVs' goal, which consists of directing a certain category of people rather than an individual. This reveals that the valency sentence patterns within which a verb can occur largely depend on its semantic meaning and resource situation.

5.4 Summary and Conclusions

I have discussed, in detail, the similarities and differences displayed in the semantic components and valency sentence patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs. The contrastive analysis of semantic components between English and Chinese directive SAVs shows that, depite the notable similarities in their semantic components, semantically the English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts do not exactly map onto each other within and across languages. Although in some cases they could be substituted for each other, they are far from identical. There is a great degree of differentiation between the examined English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts in terms of their semantic components, including the speaker's intention, the illocutionary force, the power relationship between the speaker and the addressee, the speaker's emotional state, the speaker's confidence in the outcome and the stress of the speech act. Some English directive SAVs seem to be more general than their counterparts in Chinese, such as *order* and its counterparts *zeling*, *heling*, *chilling* and *zecheng*. The compound nature of word formation of the Chinese language and the different thinking modes between Chinese people and westerners may contribute to the relatively general meaning of English directive SAVs and the more specific and concrete meaning of Chinese directive SAVs. In addition, the long historical development of Chinese characters and words may also constitute another factor in the dramatic diversity of Chinese directive SAVs with concrete meaning.

The comparison of the identified valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs, which are closely related on a semantic basis, shows that the valency sentence patterns that a verb can occur within are closely related to their semantic meaning and semantically similar verbs always share one or more valency sentence patterns, such as *order*, *demand*, *tell (to)*,

direct and *instruct*. With the exception of *guiding*, the other ten Chinese directive SAVs under study share the trivalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, which is viewed as a typical pattern for expressing directive meaning in Chinese. Many of them share a considerable number of patterns, which reflects the similarity in their semantic meaning and extralinguistic features. In addition, the number of complements required for the semantically related SAVs with which they can occur in an acceptable active declarative sentence is also the same. These findings confirm Wierzbicka's (1987) claim that there is a correlation between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of SAVs.

However, the comparison also reveals that no valency sentence pattern is shared among all the nine examined English directive SAVs or among all the eleven Chinese directive SAVs, and none of the examined English or Chinese directive SAVs can occur with exactly the same valency sentence patterns as another within each language. Some SAVs have more versatile patterns than their synonyms, as indicated in Table 5-12 and Table 5-25. Most English and Chinese directive SAVs under study have one or more valency sentence pattern that is individual to them.

The difference in their valency sentence patterns provides some clues to their semantic meanings. The valency sentence patterns which reflect the semantic differences among English and Chinese SAVs include the feature of the subject, different co-occurrence with prepositions, the status of the agent and the realization form of and the kind of direct object allowed by each verb. For example, the distinction of the syntactic patterns of *demand* and *require*, regarding their ability to take the target person who is supposed to perform the desired action as the direct object, reflects the differences in the speaker's confidence and the importance of the addressee's role in the two cases. The same applies to the Chinese directive SAVs. The valency sentence patterns of the examined eleven semantically related Chinese directive SAVs reflect the similar or different aspects of their semantic meanings. They have different divalent and trivalent sentence patterns which distinguish them from each other and reflect their distinctive linguistic and extralinguistic meanings. For example, the more official and institutional character of *mingling*, *xialing*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *zeling*, *leling* and *guiding* is reflected in their ability to take either an individual or an institution or

impersonal agent as their subject, while the more personal character of *chiling* and *heling* is reflected in their ability to only take a personal subject.

Furthermore, from Table 5-11 and Table 5-25, it can be seen that there is a significant difference in the valency sentence patterns between the examined English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts, including differences in the constructions of various complements, the uses of passive structures and the capabilities to occur with prepositional complements.

However, despite the differences stated above, the examined English directive SAVs show a notable similarity to their Chinese counterparts in their valency complements and patterns. As can be seen in Table 5-11 and Table 5-25, all the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs syntactically prefer personal direct object and verbal complements, as in <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+VP>. One reason for this would be that the speaker's wanting can be clearly exhibited in such sentence structures. They are all peremptory speech acts aiming at causing the addressee to do something by the speech act. The speaker just says bluntly what he/she wants the addressee to do and wants the addressee to be affected directly by this. Therefore, the syntax of the English and Chinese directive SAVs under investigation supports the posited break down of semantic components. The comparison reveals that the valency sentence patterns that a directive SAV can occur with are closely related to their semantic meaning.

6 CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE VALENCY SENTENCE PATTERNS OF THE ENGLISH AND CHINESE DIRECTIVE SAVS OBSERVED IN THE COMPARABLE CORPUS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyze the frequencies and distributions of the SAV valency sentence patterns identified in the previous chapter within the two-million-word comparable corpus, in order to investigate how these SAVs are used to perform legal speech acts in naturally occurring legislative texts. This comparable corpus of English and Chinese legislative texts is specialized and genre-specific. Since the valency sentence pattern distribution of a verb may vary according to the genre of the corpus, analyzing this corpus will provide valuable insight into the typical use of English and Chinese directive SAVs in legal discourse, such as the predominance of certain valency sentence complementation patterns over others to perform directive speech acts. The semantic and syntactic similarities and differences among these closely-related SAVs will also be further explored in this corpus analysis.

By exploring empirical language data specifically drawn from legal corpora, this chapter highlights distinctions between English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts in terms of how they are used to perform directive legal speech acts. The frequencies of occurrences and valency sentence patterns observed in the corpus for the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs will be compared and contrasted in groups or in pairs in Section 6.2, Section 6.3 and Section 6.4, to capture the similarities and differences in their use in the legal genre. Since distributional frequencies "play an explanatory role in various language phenomena" (Roland *et al*., 2007, p. 349), as a first step, the frequencies of occurrences of the English and Chinese directive SAVs under investigation will be explored in each sub-section, then followed by a comparison of their valency sentence patterns within and across the two languages. Section 6.5 will discuss, from a linguistic and cultural perspective, the corpus findings of the distinction between English and

Chinese directive SAVs in legal discourse and the correlation between the semantic and syntactic properties.

6.2 Frequency analysis of the valency sentence patterns of *order, command, direct, instruct* and *tell (to)*, and their Chinese counterparts in the comparable corpus

In this section, the frequencies of occurrences of the valency sentence patterns observed in the comparable corpus for the English directive SAVs *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* and their Chinese counterparts *mingling*, *xialing*, *chiling*, *heling*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *zeling* and *leling* will be investigated and then a comparison of the patterns observed within and across the languages will be given.

6.2.1 Frequency analysis of the valency sentence patterns observed in the comparable corpus for *order, command, direct, instruct* and *tell (to)*

The overall summary of the valency sentence pattern distribution of *order*, *direct* and *instruct* observed in the comparable corpus is presented in order of frequency in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *direct, order* and *instruct*

	direct		***order***		***instruct***	
	Total	**%**	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
V+N_P			3	1%		
N_A+V+N_P			64	26%		
N_A+V+ that-clause	47	16%	60	24%		
N_A+V+Quote						
N_A+V+N_P+ADV						
N_A+V+ Otherwise			27	11%		
V+N_P+to-INF	6	2%	6	2%		
N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	231	78%	79	32%	5	50%
V+N_P+to passive-INF	3	1%	1	0%		
N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF	9	3%	10	4%		
N_A+V+N_P+Quote						
Total	296	100%	250	100%	5	100%

Command and *tell (to)* are not tabulated as, surprisingly, no occurrences of these SAVs were observed in the comparable corpus of English legislative texts. I argue the non-occurrence of *command* is largely due to its present-oriented nature and abruptness in form. As discussed in Sub-section 5.2.1.1 above, the person who *commands* does not appeal to the addressee's understanding and always expects to trigger a semi-automatic response (Wierzbicka, 1987). Moreover, a *command* is usually short. The orientation to the present and abruptness of the directive form of *command* may impose limits on its use in legal contexts, particularly in written legal texts, because they display a preference for long, complicated sentences and tend to be delayed or future-oriented nature.

The English directive SAV *tell (to)* was likewise absent in the legal corpus. Similar to *command*, I argue this is mainly the result of the formal register of written legislative texts. Given that *tell (to)* is quite informal and impersonal, it may be avoided in formal writing, particularly in written legal language given such language is marked with stiffness, formality and impersonal style (Varó & Hughes, 2002).

As can be seen in Table 6-1, the frequencies of occurrences of the valency sentence patterns for *direct*, *order* and *instruct* vary considerably in the comparable corpus. The valency sentence patterns that account for more than 10% of all occurrences of a verb are highlighted in yellow. The corpus had 296 hits of *direct* in total, which was the highest frequency among the three verbs, and 250 hits of *order*. The verb *instruct* was exceedingly rare in the corpus with only five occurrences observed. Due to the specialized genre of the corpus, some variation in the valency sentence pattern distribution is expected. Thus, the data suggest that the verbs *direct* and *order* have a relatively high likelihood of being used in legislative texts while *instruct*, *command* and *tell (to)* are much less likely to be used in legislative texts.

There is considerable variation in structural probabilities among the three verbs in the comparable corpus. As shown in Table 6-1, *order* and *direct* have more varied syntactic environments in the comparable corpus than *instruct*, which occurred with only one valency sentence pattern, $<N_A+V+N_P+\text{to-INF}>$, as in Example (4). All the five instances of *instruct* are in the active voice.

Original 4) the directors of the body must instruct such accountants or solicitors or both as are named in the resolution to report on the proposals and send their report or reports to the directors as soon as practicable;

Simple clause: 4a) [the directors of the body] must instruct [such accountants or solicitors or both] [to report on the proposals and send their report or reports to the directors];

Anaphorization: 4b) [they] must instruct [them] [to-infinitive clause];

Next in the study, the permutation test, commutation test and reduction test (outlined in Section 3.3.2.3) were used to identify the valency sentence complements. The obligatory complements that need to be realized to form a grammatically correct sentence are included in the simple clause structure of the example, whereas adjuncts which are relatively freely added or deleted in the sentence are omitted, as illustrated in the simple clause (4a). Thus, sentence (4a) is the smallest clause possible for the given verb *instruct* in Example (4). The noun phrase "the directors of the body" in Example (4) refers to the doer of *instructing* and can be substituted by a pronoun he or she in the subject case. The noun phrase "such accountants or solicitors or both" refers to the object of *instruct* and can be replaced by 'them' in the object case, as shown in example sentence (4b).

Thus, the valency sentence pattern of *instruct* in this example is analyzed as <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>. As can be seen from this trivalent sentence pattern, *instruct* occurred with three complements: a noun complement (N_A) acting as the subject of *instruct* in an active sentence; a noun complement (N_P) that acts as the direct object of *instruct* in a finite active clause and can also occur as the subject of *instruct* in a finite passive clause; and an infinitive clause with '*to*'.

In the comparable corpus, *order* occurred with eight different valency sentence patterns. The analysis found that of the 250 occurrences of *order*, 158 (63%) were divalent uses, 89 (36%) were trivalent uses, and 3 (1%) were monovalent. No zero-valent pattern was observed for *order* in the corpus. *Order* shows a stronger preference for the trivalent pattern with a personal direct object followed by a *to*-infinitive clause <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, such as Examples (5) and (6).

Original 5) The Registrar may order a person arrested under this section to pay the costs of the arrest.

Simple clause: 5a) [The Registrar] may order [a person] [to pay the costs of the arrest].

Anaphorization: 5b) [He/She] may order [him/her] [*to*-infinitive clause].

Original 6) This section applies where: (ii) the company or registered body has not been ordered to be wound up by the Court.
Simple clause: 6a) [The court] has not ordered [the company or registered body] [to be wound up].
Anaphorization: 6b) [They/It] has not ordered [them/it] [*to* passive-infinitive clause].

In valency theory, passive constructions are regarded as a transformation of the active structure and the number of valency complements a verb can take in passive structure is the same as that in active structure (Reichardt, 2013). For this valency analysis, therefore, it was necessary to change all passives into active clauses, as in Example (6). In addition, in the process of simplifying the sentences, the adjuncts (mostly adverbial phrases) are also eliminated. If the verb investigated occurs in a complex sentence, only the clause in which the verb occurs is to be analyzed in order to categorize the valency sentence complements of the verb. As shown in Example (6), the verb *order* is used in a passive structure, which is transformed into an active clause, and the main clause is eliminated to simplify the sentence.

The other two almost equally frequent patterns for *order* are <N_A+V+N_P> and <N_A+V+that-clause>, as shown in Example sentences (7), (8) and (9).

Original 7) ASIC may order the winding up of a company if the company's review fee in respect of a review date has not been paid in full at least 12 months after the due date for payment.
Simple clause: 7a) [ASIC] may order [the winding up of a company].
Anaphorization: 7b) [They] may order [it]

Original 8) Where a trustee is so removed from office, the Court may make such order with respect to his or her remuneration for his or her services as a trustee as the Court thinks proper and may further order that.
Simple clause: 8a) [the Court] may further order [that he or she pay expenses incurred by the creditors in consequence of his or her removal].
Anaphorization: 8b) [They/It] may further order [*that*-clause].

9) If a partner does not claim any benefit from the action, the Court may order that he or she be indemnified against costs in respect of the action.
9a) [The Court] may order [that he or she be indemnified against costs in respect of the action].
9b) [They/It] may order [*that*-clause].

There are restrictions of semantic category on semantic components' syntactic realization of *order*. *Order* is expected to cause an action, but the action does not have to be performed by the addressee him/herself. Thus, *order* often takes an action noun as its direct object and the addressee is often

elided both from the *order* and from the report, as in Example (7). An action expressed by the verbal phrase is performed by the patient as a result of the agent's speech; their relationships can be described as 'ordering' and 'being ordered'. Since "the direct object represents the focus of the speaker's interest" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 86), when an action noun occurs as the direct object of *order* – such as 'winding up' in Example (8), the speaker's stress is more on the desired action or the state of affairs resulting from the action, rather than on the addressee who is supposed to carry out that action.

Interestingly an adverbial complement 'otherwise' is also typical with *order* and 11% of the 250 occurrences of *order* are used with 'otherwise' as in Example (10).

Original 10) A person authorised to inspect books may make copies of the books unless the Court orders otherwise.
Simple clause: 10a) [the Court] orders [otherwise].
Anaphorization: 10b) [They/It] orders [otherwise].

As shown in Example (10), 'otherwise' completes the meaning of the verb *order* and is part of the core meaning of the sentence. If it is deleted, it will yield an intrinsically different meaning. Thus, 'otherwise' should be categorized as an adverbial complement rather than an adjunct and cannot be omitted in the process of transforming an original sentence into a simple clause.

The verb *direct* occurred with five different valency sentence patterns in the comparable corpus. The most frequent valency pattern for *direct* observed in the corpus was the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> with 231 occurrences accounting for 78% of all occurrences, such as Example (11). *Direct* shows much stronger preference for this trivalent pattern than *order* does. Another recurrent pattern for *direct* is <N_A+V+ that-clause>, with 16% of all occurrences, as shown in Example sentence (12).

11) APRA may direct parties to an industry support contract to comply with the contract.
11a) [APRA] may direct [parties to an industry support contract] [to comply with the contract].
11b) [They] may direct [them] [*to*-infinitive clause].

12) The Federal Court may direct that 2 or more proceedings for civil penalty orders are to be heard together.

12a) [The Federal Court] may direct [that 2 or more proceedings for civil penalty orders are to be heard together].

12b) [They/It] may direct [that-clause].

As can be seen in Example (12), *direct* takes a *that*-clause in which the addressee's identity is not mentioned. This syntactic pattern of *direct* is closely related to its semantic meaning. As Wierzbicka (1987) suggests, *direct* is relatively impersonal and the addressee's identify is not the focus. The speaker's stress is on causing something to be done and the addressees who are supposed to cause them to be done are irrelevant.

However, despite some differences, dramatic similarities among *instruct*, *order* and *direct* in their valency sentence patterns in the comparable corpus are notable. All the three verbs *direct*, *order* and *instruct* predominantly occurred in the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, as illustrated in Figure 6-1.

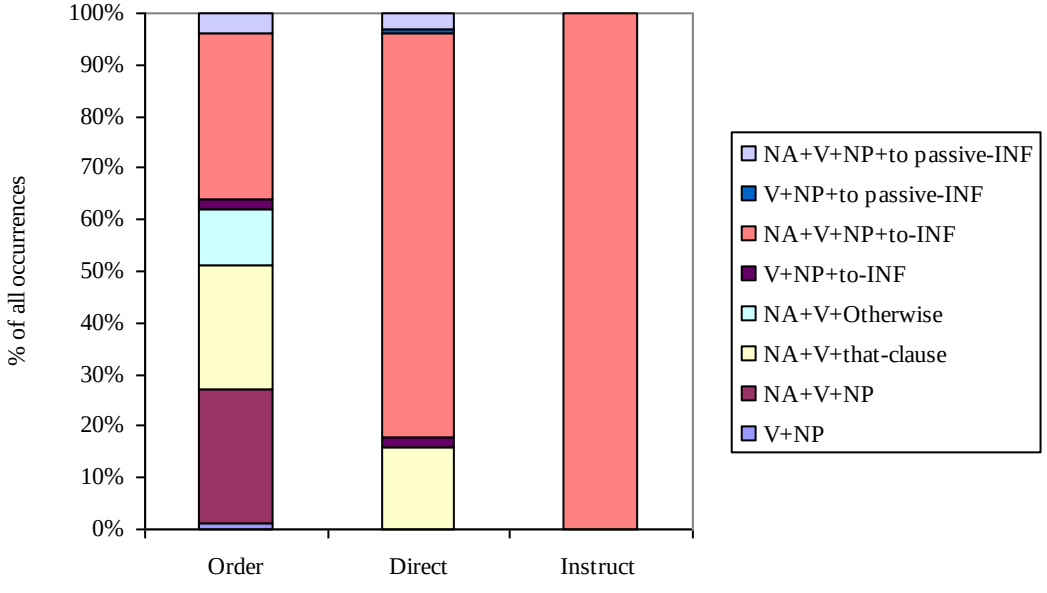

Figure 6-1 Distributions of observed valency sentence patterns of *direct*, *order*, and *instruct* in the comparable corpus

Direct and *instruct* share their valency sentence patterns with *order*. For *direct* and *order*, the

corpus shows a high frequency of the two patterns <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+that-clause>. Similarly, passive voice is neither frequent for *order* nor *direct.* Altogether 16 occurrences or 6% of the total use of *order* are passive uses, and for *direct,* 18 occurrences (5%) are used in the passive.

Order and *direct* both typically occurred in the patterns <V+N_P+to-INF>, <V+N_P+to passive-INF>, <N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+ to-INF>, such as Examples (13) - (17).

13) If a party is ordered to pay the costs of another party, the costs may be recovered in a court of competent jurisdiction as a debt due by the first party to the other party.

13a) order [a party] [to pay the costs of another party]

13b) order [him/her] [to-infinitive clause]

14) Where required under subsection (3), the Commissioner must give a direction accordingly, unless the applicant has already asked, or been directed to ask, for an examination of the patent request and specification.

14a) direct [the applicant] [to ask for an examination of the patent request and specification].

14b) direct [him/her] [to-infinitive clause]

15) The amendments made by items 29 and 31 to 34 of this Schedule apply in relation to amendments of complete specifications directed or requested on or after the day this Schedule commences

15a) direct [amendments of complete specifications] [to be made…]

15b) direct [them/these] [to passive-infinitive clause]

16) if a report or reports is or are obtained pursuant to paragraph (a)—make the report or reports available at the registered office of the body for inspection by the shareholders and creditors of the body at least 7 days before the day of the meeting ordered by the Court to be convened as provided in subsection (1) or (1A),…

16a) [the Count] orders [the meeting] [to be convened]

16b) [They/It] orders [it] [to passive-infinitive clause]

17) The Official Receiver must accept a debtor's petition against a partnership unless the Official Receiver rejects it under section 56B or is directed by the Court to reject the petition.

17a) [the Court] directs [the Official Receiver] [to reject the petition]

17b) [they/it] directs [them] [to-infinitive clause]

The sentences in the examples above are transformed into a simple active clause in order to exemplify the valency sentence complements. For example, (14) is a complex sentence consisting of two subordinate clauses. For the valency analysis, the subordinate clause with subordinate conjunction 'unless' is changed into a simple active clause without the subordinate conjunction. In

Examples (13) and (14), the person who *orders* or *directs* is eliminated and the addressee who is supposed to carry out the desired action takes up the subject position. As suggested by Haspelmath and Muller-Bardey (2001, p. 16), passive clauses "do not make a dramatic change in the semantic content of a verb; rather, they present the event expressed by the verb in a different perspective". In passive clauses, the event is viewed from the perspective of the underlying direct object and attention is to be focused on the original object rather than the original subject (an agent). In the passive structures with the agent assigned the status of prepositional complements introduced by the preposition 'by' as in Examples (16) and (17), there is no valency change at all. However, the removal of the agent in passive structures, such as Examples (13), (14) and (15), can lead to the valence decreasing (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000).

Order and *direct* are also similar in occurring in the patterns without the addressee who is supposed to cause something to happen, as shown in Examples (15) and (16). According to Wierzbicka (1987), the speaker's goal for both *order* and *direct* is to cause something to happen and the addressee's identity is less important. In other words, the addressee who carries out the action is not semantically necessary.

Moreover, the corpus of English legal texts had a very low frequency of passive structures for *order* and *direct*, and had no occurrences of passive structures for the verb *instruct*. These results indicate that passive structures are not commonly used for *order*, *direct* and *instruct* in the legal genre.

These findings suggest that the synonymous and near synonymous verbs have the same preferred valency sentence patterns in legal discourse, which reflect similarities in their semantic structures. It is difficult to draw a conclusion on whether there is a strong connection between the semantic meaning of a verb and its valency complements merely based on the frequency analysis of three English directive SAVs *order*, *direct* and *instruct*. However, from the discussion above, we can see clearly that the directive sense or meaning of these three verbs correlates with preferences for particular valency sentence patterns, such as <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and <N_A+V+that-clause>. The results indicate that the valency sentence patterns of these verbs are, to a large extent, linked to their semantic meaning.

6.2.2 Frequency analysis of the valency sentence patterns observed in the comparable corpus for *mingling*, *xialing*, *chiling*, *heling*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *zeling* and *leling*

There is a dramatic difference in the frequencies of occurrences among *mingling*, *xialing*, *chiling*, *heling*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *zeling* and *leling*. The comparable corpus has a high rate of use of *zeling*, with 871 occurrences in total, whereas *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* are exceedingly rare, each with less than ten occurrences in the corpus. Surprisingly, no occurrences were observed for *mingling*, *haoling*, *chiling*, *heling* or *leling* in the corpus. The counts for the valency sentence patterns of *zeling*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* in order of frequency in the comparable corpus are shown in Table 6-2. With regard to the large difference in frequencies among these synonymous or near-synonymous verbs, I propose that the discursive register (such as a more formal or official nature of written legislative texts) in the corpus contributes to this disparity. In addition, the frequency of occurrence of each verb is also likely to be due to semantic factors such as the sense of the verbs and the topics and information stipulated.

Table 6-2 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *zeling*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* in the comparable corpus

	zeling		***zecheng***		***zhiling***		***xialing***	
	Total	**%**	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
V+VP	189	22%						
V+N_P+VP	16	2%						
N_P+bei V+VP	9	1%						
you N+V+VP	512	59%						
N_A+V+VP	60	7%					2	100%
N_A+V+N_P+VP	58	7%	9	100%	4	100%		
N_P+ bei N_A+V+VP	1	0%						
N_A+ dui N+V+VP	3	0%						
dui N+you N+V+VP	1	0%						
you N+V+N_P+VP	22	2%						
Total	871	100%	9	100%	4	100%	2	100%

As can be seen from Table 6-2, considerable variation in the valency sentence patterns is notable among *zeling*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing*. *Zeling* had the most versatile syntactic environment in the corpus, with 10 observed valency patterns, while *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* all occurred with

only one valency sentence pattern. The occurrences of *xialing* is extremely low with only two occurrences in the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+VP>, as in Example (18).

18) [国务院] 可以 对 相关 边境 区域 采取 控制 措施， 必要 时
[*guowuyuan*] *keyi* *dui* *xiangguan* *bianjing* *quyu* *caiqu* *kongzhi* *cuoshi* *biyao* *shi*
[State Council] may to relevant border areas adopt control measures necessary when

下令 [禁止 来自 动 植物 疫区 的 运输 工具 进境 或者
xialing [*jinzhi* *laizi* *dong* *zhiwu* *yiqu* *de* *yunshu* *gongju* *jinjing* *huozhe*
order [prohibit from animal plant epidemic-stricken areas PAR transport means enter or

封锁 有关 口岸]。
fengsuo *youguan* *kou'an*]
close relevant port]

18t) The State Council may adopt measures to control the relevant border areas, and may, if necessary, issue orders to prohibit means of transport from animal or plant epidemic - stricken areas from entering the country or to close the relevant ports;

A word-for-word translation of the Example (18) is provided in brackets. All the translations provided in this section have been extracted from the corpus of English translation texts and marked with 't': the English sentence (18t) is the translation of the Example sentence (18). As shown in Example (18), *xialing* is directly followed by a verbal phrase in the object position which dictates what the speaker wants to cause to happen. As discussed earlier, the speaker of *xialing* is usually the ruler of a country and this SAV aimed at an entire population or people of a certain category rather than an individual person. In Example (18), *xialing* is used by the State Council to perform the act of imposing obligations. ('The State Council' is the chief administrative authority of China and it includes the heads of each governmental department.) The State Council does not appeal to people's feelings or goodwill but views the government's subjects (people) as instruments of its will. The State Council is confident that once people know what the State Council wants them to do, they will do it. By relying on these relevant conventions and the performative nature of the directive SAV *xialing*, the State Council can achieve its legal effects of regulating human behaviour.

Different from *xialing*, *zhiling* and *zecheng* occurred only in the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> such as Examples (19) and (20).

19) [上 一级 人民 法院] 经 审查, 可以 …, 也可以决定 由 本院 执行
[*shang yi ji renmin fayuan*] *jing shench keyi ye keyi jueding you benyuan zhixing*
[Higher level people's court] upon review may or may decide YOU the court execute

或者 指令 [其他 人民 法院] [执行]。
huozhe zhiling [*qita renmin fayuan*] *zhixing.*
or instruct [other people court] [execute]

19t) Upon review, the people's court at the next higher level may …, or may decide to execute by itself or instruct any other people's court to do it.

20) [收到 报告 的 人民 政府] 应当 责成 [有关 行政主管 部门]
[*shoudao baogao de renmin zhengfu*] *yingdang zecheng* [*youguan xingzheng zhuguan bumen*]
[Receive report PAR people government] shall instruct [relevant administrative department]

[制止 导致 土地 沙化 的 行为]
[*zhizhi daozhi tudi shahua de xingwei*]
[stop result in land desertification PAR activity]

20t) The people's government that receives such report shall instruct the administrative departments concerned to put a stop to the activities resulting in land desertification and take effective measures for rehabilitation.

In Examples (19) and (20), *zhiling* and *zecheng* both take the addressee as their direct object and the relationship between the speaker and addressee is institutional and hierarchical, such as 'the People's Court at the next higher level' (i.e. higher than a court at lower level) in Example (19) and 'the People's Government' (as opposed to its subordinate departments) in Example (20). The speaker and the addressee of *zhiling* and *zecheng* all represent institutions, which reflects their institutional and formal character. Since the speaker has superior institutional authority over the addressee, the addressee has to do what the speaker wants him to do. Thus, *zhiling* and *zecheng* both imply a full confidence in the effectiveness of the act. Accordingly, the legal effects of imposing obligation and legal consequences of getting the addressee to perform the desired action can be obtained.

As pointed out earlier, *zecheng* implies that something bad has happened and the speaker wants the addressee to do something to stop it. It can be seen from Example (20), the bad thing that has happened is land desertification caused by certain activities and what the speaker wants the addressee to do is to stop these activities. *Zecheng* also implies that the speaker has a negative judgement about certain actions of the addressee. In this case, although the activities that resulted

in land desertification were not performed by the relevant administrative departments, they failed to properly perform their duties to prevent those activities and thus they also take responsibility for land desertification.

For the verb *zeling*, ten different valency sentence patterns were observed in the comparable corpus. *Zeling* occurred predominantly with a prepositional phrase in subject position and a verbal phrase in object position <you N_A+V+VP>, with 512 occurrences making up 59% of the occurrences in the corpus, such as Example (21).

21) 专利 标识 不 符合 前款规定 的, [由 管理 专利 工作
zhuanli biaoshi bu fuhe qiankuan guiding de [*you guanli zhuanli gongzuo*
patent mark not in conformity with preceding provisions PAR [YOU manage patent work
的 部门] <u>责令</u> [改正]
de bumen] <u>*zeling*</u> [*gaizheng*]
PAR department] <u>order</u> [make a correction]

21t) Where a patent mark is not in conformity with the provisions of the preceding paragraph, the relevant department in charge of patent management shall <u>order</u> the party to make a correction.

The preposition '*you*' means '*by*'. It is used to introduce the semantic component of agent or doer who performs the act. '*You*' needs to occur with a noun or noun phrase to form a prepositional phrase and can be negated by '*bu*'. The prepositional complement '*you*' normally precedes the main verb, as shown in Example (21). The addressee who is supposed to carry out the desired action is omitted in this pattern, but it can be inferred from the context that the addressee is the person whose patent mark is not in conformity with the provisions of the preceding paragraph. Moreover, as pointed out earlier, *zeling* implies that the addressee has done something bad and the prepositional content concerns an action to stop the bad action, as illustrated in Example (21).

Zeling also frequently occurred in the monovalent pattern with a verbal phrase in the object position <V+VP>, with 22% of all occurrences in the comparable corpus, as in Example (22).

22) 违反 本法 规定, 未 进行 型式 试验 的, 责令 [限期
weifan benfa guiding, wei jinxing xingshi shiyan de, zeling [xianqi
Violate this law, not conduct type test PAR, order [within specified time period

改正], …
gaizheng]
[make correction]

22t) Whoever fails to conduct type tests in accordance with this Law shall be ordered to make correction within the prescribed time period.

In this pattern, the addressee is usually mentioned in the preceding clause or can be inferred from the context. For example, in Example (22) the clause "违反本法规定, 未进行型式试验(violate this law, fail to conduct type tests)" functions as a subordinate clause to modify a noun or noun phrase which is supposed to be the addressee of *ordering*, but the addressee is not explicitly stated in the original texts. The omission of the noun or noun phrase following the particle '*de*' in the original Chinese sentence, strictly speaking, can lead to an incomplete sentence. However, the omitted noun or noun phrases can be retrieved from the context and therefore semantically it is complete.

Notably, the subject of *zeling* in Example (22) is omitted, but it can be trackd and understood in the context. The implicit subject, in many cases, is an indispensable part of the semantic meaning of the clause, and does not need to be specified in Chinese discourse. Thus such structures with zero subject <V+N_P> are often considered to be the discourse variant of the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P>. The ellipsis of noun phrases in subjective position also occurs in English, but it is much more prevalent in Chinese. In English, definite noun phrases and overt pronouns are employed as referring expressions to specify the preceding entities, while zero subject is the default strategy of referent tracking in Chinese discourse (Qin *et al*., 2011).

Furthermore, the omission of the subject in Chinese and English discourse also differs in the conditions in which the zero anaphora can occur. In English the zero anaphor in the subjective position occurs only when the subject has been mentioned in the preceding utterances, while in Chinese the subject may be omitted when they are grammatically or pragmatically inferable (Yan, 2014).

More importantly, according to Liao (1992, in Qin *et al*., 2011, p. 403), the omission of the noun phrases in subjective position is largely related to the verbs in sentences and only the elements governed by the verbs can be omitted.

In this study, in order to provide a detailed description of the similarities and differences in the valency patterns of the examined English and Chinese SAVs within and across the two languages, the occurrences of these SAVs with and without subject are categorized into different patterns. As can be seen from Table 6-2, only *zeling* occurred in the patterns with zero subject, as in <V+VP> and <V+N_P +VP>, while *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* all occurred with overt subject. The corpus data indicates that *zeling* is more likely to be used with zero anaphora in the subjective position than its synonyms in legislative texts, which reflects the difference in their semantic structure. The frequent use of zero anaphora for *zeling* might be caused by the speaker's imperative mood to get the addressee to do something to stop bad actions and to improve the bad situation as illustrated in Example 22.

It has to be pointed out that *zeling* predominantly occurred in a structure with the receiver of the action preceding it, as in Example (23).

23) [保险机构］ 未经 批准 经营 农业 保险业务 的, ［由
[*baoxian jigou*] *weijing pizhun jingying nongye baoxian yewu de* [*you*
[Insurance institution] without approval engage in agricultural insurance PAR [by
保险 监督 管理 机构］ <u>责令</u>［改正］, . . .
baoxian jiandu guanli jigou] <u>*zeling*</u> [*gaizheng*]
insurance regulatory authority] <u>order</u> [make correction]

23t) An insurance institution that engages in agricultural insurance business without approval shall <u>be ordered</u> to make corrections by the relevant insurance regulatory authority.

The valency analysis of the structure in Example (23) is somewhat difficult, as the object of *zeling* apparently also functions as the subject of the verb "经营(engage in)" in the preceding clause. There are two alternative ways to deal with this double role. The whole clause preceding the main clause can be analyzed as an individual clause. However, it can be noted that this clause ends with the relative particle '*de*' and grammatically cannot be treated as an individual clause in Chinese.

The whole clause preceding the main clause can also be treated as a verbal instance or relative clause of the nominal complement that functions as the subject of the sentence acting as the receiver of the action. '*De*' is a relative clause marker that is used to make clear that the extra information given by the clause "未经批准经营农业保险业务 (engage in agricultural insurance business without approval)" is connected to the noun "保险机构 (insurance institution)". Generally, relative clauses precede the noun they modify. But as seen in Example (23), for emphasis, the modified noun "保险机构 (insurance institution)" is put in front of the relative clause from which ambiguity may arise. The noun complement is rewritten in example sentence (23r).

23r) [未经 批准 经营 农业 保险业务 的 保险 机构], [由
[*weijing pizhun jingying nongye baoxian yewu de baoxian jigou*] [*you*
[without approval engage in apricultural insurance PAR Insurance institution] [by

保险监督管理 机构] <u>责令</u> [改正], . . .
baoxian jiandu guanli jigou] <u>*zeling*</u> [*gaizheng*]
insurance regulatory authority] <u>order</u> [make correction]

23t) An insurance institution that engages in agricultural insurance business without approval shall <u>be ordered</u> to make corrections by the relevant insurance regulatory authority.

The structure of the nominal complement is explicitly understood and therefore this analysis approach as seen in (23) is adequate and acceptable as it is closest to the surface structure and fully retains the original meaning. Thus, these structures are classified as <you N_A+V+N_P+VP>.

Another two evenly frequent valency sentence patterns for *zeling* in the comparable corpus are <N_A+V+VP> (24) and <N_A+V+N_P+VP> each with 7% of all occurrences.

24) 印制、发售 代币 票券, 以代替 人民币 在 市场上 流通 的,
yinzhi, fashou daibi piaoquan yi daiti renminbi zai shichang shang liutong de
Print sell promissory notes to substitute Renminbi on market circulate PAR

[中国人民银行] 应当 <u>责令</u> [停止 违法 行为]。
[*zhongguo renmin yinhang*] *yingdang* <u>*zeling*</u> [*tingzhi weifa xingwei*]
[People's Bank of China] shall <u>order</u> [cease illegal act]

24t) If anyone prints or sells promissory notes as substitutes for Renminbi to circulate on the market, the People's Bank of China shall <u>order</u> him to cease his illegal act.

In example (24), *zeling* occurs with a verbal phrase "停止违法行为 (cease illegal act)" in object position and the person who performs the desired action is not specified. However, similar to Examples (21) and (22), here the relative clause preceding the main clause "印制、发售代币票券, 以代替人民币在市场上流通 (print, sell promissory notes to substitute Renminbi to circulate on the market)" also functions as a modifier and the noun or noun phrase modified by this clause is omitted. The omission of the doer of the desired action is partly because the doer can be inferred from the context and because the omission does not result in incompleteness of meaning. The fact that *zeling* always takes a verbal phrase complement as its direct object such as in the patterns <you N_A+V+VP>, <V+VP> and <N_A+V+VP>, suggests that *zeling* is more action-oriented in legal texts. What the speaker wants is an action or a certain state of affairs resulting from the action and the speaker's stress is not so much on the person who performs the action. The addressee is viewed not as a goal, but rather as an instrument of the speaker's will.

One other point worth raising concerns two passive structures for *zeling* observed in the corpus: <N_P+bei V+VP> and <N_P+ bei N_A+V+VP>, as illustrated in Examples (25) and (26).

25) ［承兑人 或者 付款人］ 因 违法 被 责令［终止 业务 活动］ 的, …
[*chengduiren huozhe fukuanren*] *yin* *weifa* *bei* *zeling* [*zhongzhi yewu huodong*] *de*
[acceptor or drawee] due to violate law BEI order [stop business activities] PAR
25t) Where an acceptor or a drawee is ordered to stop business activities for violation of law,...

26) [证券公司] [被 国务院 证券 监督 管理 机构] 依法 责令 [关闭], …
[*zhengquan gongsi*] [*bei* *guowuyuan zhengquan jiandu guanli jigou*] *yifa* *zeling* [*guanbi*]
[securities company] [BEI State Council securities regulatory authority] by law order [shut down]
26t) Where a securities company is ordered by the securities regulatory authority of the State Council to shut down for administrative liquidation, …

The preposition '*bei*' is used to introduce a noun phrase as an agent, actor or doer of the main verb and thus is often referred to as a passive marker (Kit, 2006). '*Bei*' is the most common way in Chinese to express the passive. Yet for *zeling* these two patterns with '*bei*' are extremely rare with only nine occurrences of <N_P+bei V+VP> and one of <N_P+ bei N_A+V+VP> observed in the corpus. The parallel structure of a Chinese *bei*-phrase is an English *by*-phrase. However, *bei*-phrases and *by*-phrases differ greatly in their syntactic structures. In Chinese, a *bei*-phrase precedes the main

verb, as shown in Examples (25) and (26), whereas in English a *by*-phrase always follows the main verb, as in the English translation sentence (26t).

From the discussion above, it can be seen that the four Chinese directive SAVs differ in their frequencies and valency sentence patterns in legal discourse. *Zecheng* occurred much more frequently and in a much more varied syntactic environment than *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* in legislative texts. With regard to the dramatic difference in frequencies among these semantically similar verbs, it is suggested that the discursive register (the more formal or official nature of the written English and Chinese legislative texts) and semantic factors such as the sense of the verbs and the topics and information stipulated in the corpus may contribute to this disparity. The high frequency of occurrences of *zeling* is very likely to be due to its semantic features including the implication of a bad action by the addressee and full confidence in the effectiveness of the act. As the basic function of law is to regulate "human behavior and relations by setting out obligation, permission and prohibition" (Cao, 2007, p. 114), legislative provisions always concern regulating inappropriate or illegal behavior. Since *zeling* implies the speaker's assumption of a bad action by the addressee and the prepositional content of *zeling* usually refers to an action which can stop the bad action by the addressee, the legislative texts show a strong preference for *zeling*.

But notably *zecheng* and *zhiling* share their patterns with *zeling*, and *xialing* also shares its pattern with *zeling*, which indicates that the semantically related verbs are very likely to occur in the same valency sentence patterns in legal texts. Furthermore, *xialing*, *zecheng* and *zhiling* all occurred in active structures; indeed 99% of occurrences of *zeling* are active structures. The extremely low rate of use of passive structures with these four verbs suggests that for Chinese directive SAVs, a passive structure is uncommon in Chinese legislative texts.

6.2.3 Comparison of the observed valency sentence patterns of *order*, *direct* and *instruct* as well as their Chinese counterparts

Drawing on the statistical data and typical examples from the comparable corpus, an in-depth analysis of the valency sentence patterns of *order*, *direct* and *instruct* as well as their Chinese

counterparts *zeling*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* follows. The analysis focuses on the distinctions between these verbs in terms of their frequencies of occurrences, their valency sentence patterns and their semantic features in legal discourse. As shown in Figure 6-2, the study finds considerable differences in the SAVs' frequencies of occurrences in the comparable corpus.

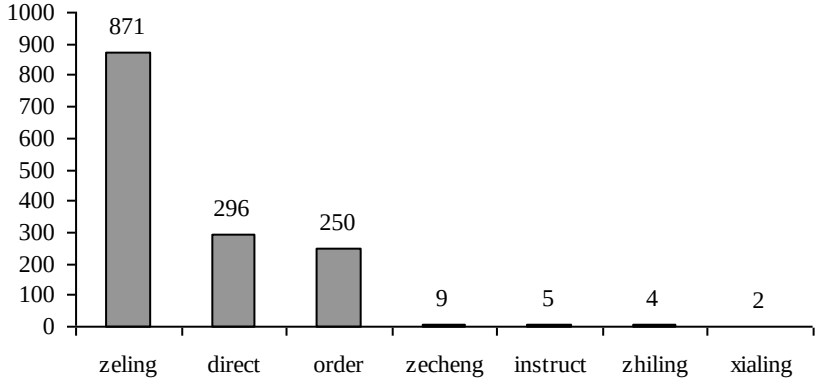

Figure 6-2 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *order*, *direct* and *instruct* as well as their Chinese counterparts

The verb *zeling* is a shared Chinese equivalent of *direct*, *order* and *instruct*. The comparable corpus had 871 occurrences of *zeling* which is much more frequent than *direct*, *order* and *instruct*. But *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* which are also translation equivalents of *direct*, *order* or *instruct*, are exceedingly rare, with less than ten hits in the corpus.

With regard to the valency sentence patterns observed in the comparable corpus, *order*, *direct* and *instruct*, and their Chinese counterparts *zeling*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* appear to vary greatly in the types of valency patterns as shown in Table 6-1 and Table 6-2.

The most obvious difference concerns the verbal complements. First, there are considerable differences in frequencies of occurrences of verbal complements between English and Chinese SAVs in the corpus. The Chinese verb *zeling* had the highest use of verbal complements observed in the corpus, while the use of *xialing*, *zhiling*, *zecheng*, *zhihui* and *zhidao* with verbal complements was very rare. *Order* and *direct* had a much lower rate of use of verbal complements in the corpus

compared to their shared Chinese translation equivalent *zeling*, but when compared to *xialing*, *zhiling* and *zecheng*, they had comparably higher rate of occurrences of verbal complements.

Second, the realization forms of verbal complements for the English verbs *order*, *direct* and *instruct* are *to*-infinitive clauses and *to* passive-infinitive clauses, while the realization form of verbal complements for the Chinese verbs *zeling*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* are verbal phrases without any preceding preposition, as exemplified in Examples (27) and (28).

27) [The Court] <u>may direct</u> [such inquiries] [to be made] and accounts to be taken for the purposes of any proceeding before the Court as the Court considers necessary.

27b) [They] direct [them/these] [to passive-infinitive clause]

28) [人民法院] [对 违反 法庭 规则 的 人], 可以予以训诫, <u>责令</u> [退出
[*renmin fayuan*] [*dui weifan fating guize de ren*] *keyi yuyi xunjie* <u>*zeling*</u> [*tuichu*
[people's court] [DUI violate court rule PAR person] may give reprimand, <u>order</u> [leave
法庭 或者 予以 罚款、 拘留]
fating huozhe yuyi fakuan juliu]
courtroom or give fine detention]

28t) If a person violates the court rules, the people's court may reprimand him, or <u>order</u> him to leave the courtroom, or impose a fine on or detain him.

Finally, *zeling* occurred predominantly in a pattern containing a verbal phrase in the object position including <you N_A+V+VP>, with 59% of all occurrences, <V+VP> with 22% and <N_A+V+VP> with 7%, adding up to 88% of all occurrences. Similarly, *xialing* also takes a verbal phrase as its direct object, but this occurred only in the pattern <N_A+V+VP> in the corpus. No equivalent patterns were observed for *direct*, *order* and *instruct*; none of these three English verbs occurred with a verbal phrase directly following the verbs in the English legislative texts.

Furthermore, all occurrences for *order* and *direct* with the patterns <V+N_P+to-INF> and <V+N_P+to passive-INF> are passive structures, such as Examples (29) and (30), and a great proportion of the occurrences with the patterns <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF> for the two verbs are also passive structures. Of course, no passive structures were observed for their Chinese counterparts as Chinese verbs do not rely on syntax features to convey passiveness. However, the examined Chinese SAVs were found to be used with active form to express passive meaning and

sometimes with the preposition '*bei*', which is the most common way to express the passive in Chinese. Yet in the comparable corpus only *zeling* was found to occur with '*bei'* as in the valency patterns <N_P+bei +V+VP> (31) and <N_P+bei N_A+V+VP> and such patterns are extremely rare, with only nine and one occurrences respectively.

29) If [a party] <u>is ordered</u> [to pay the costs of another party], the costs may be recovered in a court of competent jurisdiction as a debt due by the first party to the other party.
29b) order [him/her] [*to*-infinitive clause]

30) The amendments made by items 29 and 31 to 34 of this Schedule apply in relation to [amendments of complete specifications] directed or requested [to be made on or after the day this Schedule commences].
30b) direct [them/these] [*to* passive-infinitive clause]

31) ［承兑人 或者 付款人］ 因 违法 <u>被 责令</u>［终止 业务 活动］ 的, …
[*chengduiren huozhe fukuanren*] *yin* *weifa* <u>*bei zeling*</u> [*zhongzhi yewu huodong*] *de*
[acceptor or drawee] due to violate law <u>be ordered</u> [stop business activities] PAR
31t) Where an acceptor or a drawee <u>is ordered</u> to stop business activities for violation of law,...

This can be explained in reference to the function of the passive in English and '*bei*' structures in Chinese and the different cultures and thoughts. First, the frequent use of passive voice of *order* and *direct* can be explained by the importance of the passive in English legal discourse. In English, the grammatical subject is the topic of a sentence and the subject position is essential for clear legal writing. The end of a legal sentence is the stress position which represents the most important information in a legal sentence. Thus, the passive can be used to shift the focus of a legal sentence to exert natural emphasis on the material at the end of the sentence, which gives the addressee a greater sense of strength of the information at the stress position.

Moreover, the use of the passive voice can avoid the agency but retain the action in the verb. In legislative texts, passive sentences are indispensable to clarify intended and specific results by obscuring the subject of a sentence. That is the reason why the passive is extensively used in English legal writing. By contrast, Chinese tends to emphasize the performer who performs the act and usually makes the performer clear even in '*bei*' sentences. When the performer is unclear, 'someone', 'people', 'we' and 'others' are normally used as the performer to maintain the active form of sentences.

Furthermore, different cultures and ways of thinking are another cause for the different results. There exists a dramatic difference between English passives and Chinese '*bei*' sentences in the grammatical semantic cognitive structure and syntactical structures. As Zhong (2007) claims, having evolved from ancient Chinese the lexical meaning of '*bei*' in Chinese '*bei*' sentences has a semantic component of 'unfortunate', 'unexpected' and 'suffer', so the pseudo-passive construction of a '*bei*' sentence is limited to unfortunate events. However, there is no such limitation to English passives. Thus, Chinese '*bei*' sentences are used less frequently than English passives, in general, and in the corpus.

Another difference between *direct*, *order* and *instruct* and their Chinese counterparts is related to the prepositional complement. *Order*, *direct* and *instruct*, as well as their counterparts *xialing*, *zhiling* and *zecheng*, did not occur with any prepositional complement in the comparable corpus. However, high frequencies of occurrences of prepositional complements were obtained for the verb *zeling*, in around 61% of all its occurrences.

As shown in Table 6-2, *zeling* occurred in five different valency sentence patterns containing three types of preposition '*dui*', '*bei*' and '*you*'. As explained above, '*bei*' is used to introduce a noun phrase as an agent or doer of the main verb and thus is often referred to as a passive marker. '*Bei*' expresses that the subject of a sentence is a receiver of the action and the receiver must be put before '*bei*' and the verb as in the pattern <N_P+bei N_A+V+VP>. '*You*' means '*by*' and is used to indicate the agent or doer of an action, but unlike '*bei*', '*you*' does not indicate any passive meaning. The receiver of an action can be placed after the verb as in the pattern <you N+V+N_P+VP>. The preposition '*dui*' introduces the semantic component of patient or recipient. The prepositional complements introduced by '*bei*', '*you*' and '*dui*' occur only in front of the verb.

As can be seen in Table 6-1, the most frequent valency sentence pattern for *direct*, *order* and *instruct* is <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>. Their Chinese counterparts *zecheng* and *zhiling* have the same preferred syntactic patterns and they both occurred only in the equivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> in the corpus. However, *zeling* shows less preference for this valency pattern, with roughly 7% of all occurrences, and *xialing* did not occur in such pattern in the corpus.

One other point worth raising concerns usage differences within the equivalent patterns between the three verbs and their translation equivalent *zeling*. *Direct, order* and *instruct* as well as their Chinese equivalent *zeling* all occur in the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, all taking a personal direct object. However, the personal direct objects for *direct*, *order* and *instruct* are always long and complicated with long modifiers including relatives, whereas the personal direct object of *zeling* is always very short without long modifiers as shown in Examples (32) and (33).

32) [The directors of the body] must: (a) if a meeting of the members of the body by resolution so directs—<u>instruct</u> [such accountants or solicitors or both as are named in the resolution] [to report on the proposals and send their report or reports to the directors as soon as practicable].

32b) [They] must <u>instruct</u> [them] [to-infinitive clause].

33) 外资 银行 营业性 机构 无力 清偿 到期 债务 的, [国务院
waizi yinhang yingyexing jigou wuli qingchang daoqi zhaiwu de [*guowuyuan*
foreign-invested banking business institution unable repay due debt PAR [State Council
银行业 监督管理 机构] 可以 <u>责令</u> [其] [停业, …]。
yinhangye jiandu guanli jigou] *keyi* <u>*zeling*</u> [*qi*] [*tingye*]
banking regulator authority] may <u>order</u> [it] [suspend business operation]

33t) Where a foreign-invested banking business institution is unable to repay debts due, the banking regulatory authority under the State Council may <u>order</u> the concerned institution to suspend business operation and settle debts within a specified time limit.

In Example (32), the object of the verb *instruct* is relatively long and modified by a subordinate clause introduced by the subordinate conjunction 'as'. By contrast, the object of *zeling*, '*qi*' in Example (33), is very short and the relative clause that modifies the object '*qi*' is expressed in the preceding clause. Long modifiers for the personal direct object including relative clauses are considerably less frequent in the data for the examined Chinese directive SAVs compared to the English directive SAVs. The functions carried out by such relative clauses, such as providing additional information about the personal object, are usually carried out by other means, such as the additional information being expressed in separate sentences with simpler structures.

The corpus data essentially reflects distinctive linguistic features of English and Chinese legislative texts. Chinese legislative texts tend to consist of shorter sentences whereas English legislative texts are typically "long and complex in sentence structure with a heavy use of qualifications" (Cao, 2007, p. 117). Such differences in linguistic features of legal texts can be partly interpreted by the

different thinking modes between English and Chinese speakers. As suggested by Wang and Chen (2013, p. 647), the Chinese people are characterized by their generalizing and intuition-based thinking, in which "people study objects as a whole and emphasize entirety". That is, Chinese people are concerned more with sense or meaning, and the expression forms are likely to be neglected, due to the Chinese philosophy of systematic naturalism (Wang & Chen, 2013). That is the reason why Chinese legal language is typically general and the sentences are always short with phrases in sequential order separated by commas.

By contrast, analytical logical thinking is considered the main feature of English speakers' thinking mode (Jin & He, 2013). Individuation is a prime concern, and so the specifics and discrete components are emphasized. This may well account for the syntactic features of long and complex sentence structures with extensive use of passive voices, conditions, qualifications and exceptions to express meaning in a logical and unambiguous way.

Direct and *order* also frequently occurred with a *that*-clause <N_A+V+that-clause>, but none of their Chinese counterparts *zeling*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* occurred with the equivalent patterns in the corpus. The frequent use of the *that*-clause for the verbs *direct* and *order* is primarily due to the impersonal aspect of *direct* and *order*. According to Wierzbicka (1987, p. 43), the speaker who *directs* or *orders* wants "certain things to be done" and "it is often irrelevant which subordinate person will cause them to be done". This semantic component is reflected in their syntactic patterns; the two verbs can be used in the structure "X ordered/directed that Z be done" which focuses on the action rather than people who cause it to happen (Wierzbicka, 1987).

The comparable corpus had 64 hits of *order* occurring with the divalent pattern <N_A+V+NP>. Most of the noun phrases directly following *order* are action nouns or gerund such as 'examination', 'deregistration', 'compensation', 'management' and 'winding up' as shown in example sentences (34) and (35).

34) ASIC must deregister a company if [the Court] <u>orders</u> [the deregistration of the company], …
34b) [They/It] orders [it].

35) If [the Federal Court] orders [the judicial management of a general insurer] the Court must, by its order, appoint a judicial manager of the general insurer.

35b) [They/It] orders [it/this].

As Wierzbicka (1987, pp. 38-39) points out, the stress of *order* is on "causing something to happen" and it does not have to be done by the addressee him/herself, and for this reason "order can take an action noun as its direct object". By contrast, as shown in Table 6-2, *zeling*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* did not occur with the divalent pattern with a noun phrase in the subject position and a noun phrase in the object position.

The syntactic difference between English and Chinese directive SAVs is primarily because Chinese does not have action nouns to denote an action. In Chinese only verbs or verbal phrases are used to refer to an action. That accounts for why *zeling* and *xialing* predominantly occurred with the valency patterns consisting of a verbal phrase in the object position.

6.3 Contrastive analysis of the valency sentence patterns of *demand* and *require*, and their Chinese counterparts *yaoqiu* in the comparable corpus

In this section, the valency sentence patterns observed in the comparable corpus for *demand*, *require* and *yaoqiu* will reported within each language, and then compared and contrasted across the two languges.

6.3.1 Frequency analysis of the valency sentence patterns observed in the comparable corpus for *demand* and *require*

The comparable corpus has 1664 hits of *require* and 34 hits of *demand*. Their valency sentence patterns observed in the corpus are given in Table 6-3. The corpus data shows that *require* has a surprisingly high likelihood of being used in the legal corpus, while the verb *demand* has a very low likelihood of being used in the legal context. *Require* occurs in a much more varied syntactic environment than *demand* in the comparable corpus. Furthermore, twelve different valency sentence patterns are found for *require* in the corpus, while *demand* occurred with only two valency sentence patterns.

Table 6-3 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *require* and *demand*

	require		***demand***	
	Total	**%**	**Total**	**%**
V+V-ing	1	0%		
V+N_P	158	9%	23	68%
N_A+V+N_P	545	33%	11	32%
N_A+V+ that-clause	68	4%		
V+N_P+to-INF	212	13%		
N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	428	26%		
V+N_P+to passive-INF	88	5%		
N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF	130	8%		
V+N_P+for N	18	1%		
N_A+V+N_P+for N	12	1%		
V+N_P+of N	2	0%		
N_A+V+N_P+of N	1	0%		
Total	1664	100%	34	100%

As can be seen in Table 6-3, the most two frequent valency sentence patterns for *require* are <N_A+V+N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, highlighted in yellow, making up 33% and 26% of the occurrences respectively, and illustrated in Examples (36) and (37).

36) [The AML/CTF Rules] <u>may require</u> [information relating to the matters mentioned in paragraph 75C (2)(a) or in Rules made under paragraph 75C(2)(b)]

36b) [They] may require [them/this/it].

37) This section applies to a reporting entity if: (a) under section 49, [the AUSTRAC CEO or the Commissioner of Taxation] has required [the reporting entity] [to give information about the identity of: (i) particular credit card account];

37b) [They/It] has required [them] [*to*-infinitive clause]

What we can see from Example (36) is that the direct object 'information' refers to a state of affairs and no action is mentioned. The high rate of use of the valency pattern without an action being mentioned supports the semantic component posited for *require*: the speaker's stress is more on a certain state of affairs caused by the desired action than the action itself.

Require also occurs predominantly in the passive patterns with the agent who carries out the action being omitted, <V+N_P+to-INF> (38) and <V+N_P> (39), with 13% and 9% of all occurrences

respectively. A passive infinitive clause introduced by *to* <N_A+V+N_P+ to passive-INF> (40) and its passive use <V+N_P+ to passive-INF> (41) are less common, with 8% and 5% of all occurrences respectively in the corpus.

38) [A reporting entity] <u>may be required</u> [to give AML/CTF compliance reports to the AUSTRAC CEO].
38a) require [A reporting entity] [to give AML/CTF compliance reports to the AUSTRAC CEO]
38b) require [it] [*to*-infinitive clause]

39) If [consolidated financial statements] <u>are required</u>, the review under paragraph (a) must cover the consolidated entity.
39a) require [consolidated financial statements]
39b) require [them]

40) The Governor-General may make regulations, not inconsistent with this Act, prescribing [all matters which] [by this Act] <u>are required</u> or permitted [to be prescribed], …
40a) [this Act] requires [matters] [to be prescribed]
40b) [This/It] requires [them] [*to* passive-infinitive clause]

41) Subsection 1289(5) applies in relation to the report prepared by the auditor as if it were [a document] <u>required</u> [to be lodged].
41a) require [a document] [to be lodged]
41b) require [it] [*to* passive-infinitive clause]

Furthermore, *require* is found to occur with a noun complement in object position in active use followed by a prepositional complement with the preposition '*for*' or '*of*' (<N_A+V+N_P+for N> and <N_A+V+N_P+of N>) or with a prepositional complement in the passive voice (<V+N_P+for N> and <V+N_P+of N>), as in Example (42), but the occurrences of *require* with prepositional complements seem to be extremely rare, comprising only 2% of all occurrences in the corpus.

42) Company limited by guarantee with annual revenue or, if part of a consolidated entity, annual consolidated revenue of less than $1 million must prepare a directors' report, although less detailed than [that] required [of other companies].
42a) require [a report] [of other companies]
42b) require [it] [of them]

The verb *demand* occurs only in two valency sentence patterns, <V+N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P>, and notably *demand* shares these two patterns with *require*. But the frequencies and distributions of the two shared patterns are varied. As can be seen from Table 6-3, *demand* occurs predominantly

with a noun phrase complement 'N_P' in subject position in passive clauses <V+N_P>, with 23 occurrences making up 68% of all occurrences, as shown in Example (43).

43) If a company has a constitution, the constitution may provide that [a poll] <u>cannot be demanded</u> on any resolution concerning: …

43a) demand [a poll]

43b) demand [it]

In this monovalent sentence structure, 'N_P' denotes the patient of the verb *demand*, while the noun complement which can occur as the subject in active uses was deleted. Indeed, the monovalent pattern <V+N_P> is the passive structure of the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> with the agent being omitted. When an active verb is turned into a passive verb, what is expressed by the subject in the active clause is either omitted or is expressed by a preposition clause 'by', and what is expressed by the object of the verb in the active clause becomes the subject of the passive clause, which results in the decrease of verb valence. Nine occurrences of *demand* in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> are found to be in the active voice, as in Example (44) and two occurrences in this divalent pattern are passives, such as Example (45). The active and passive divalent sentence patterns of occurrences add up to 32% for *demand*.

44) [The applicant] <u>demanded</u> [an international preliminary examination] under Article 31 of the PCT before complying with the requirements of subsection 89 (3);

44b) [He/she] demanded [it]

45) At a meeting of a company's members, [a poll] <u>may be demanded</u> [by: (a) at least 5 members entitled to vote on the resolution]; …

45a) [at least 5 members entitled to vote on the resolution] demand [a poll]

45b) [they] demand [it]

Furthermore, the corpus data reveals that *require* and *demand* exhibit a strong preference for passive structures. Table 6-4 illustrates the frequencies of occurrences and proportions of passive structures for these two verbs, as observed in the corpus.

Table 6-4 Frequencies and distributions of passive structures of *require* and *demand*

		require	***demand***
Agent presence	N_A+V+N_P	172	2
	N_A+V+N_P+ to-INF	68	
	N_A+V+N_P+ to passive-INF	62	
	N_A+V+N_P+ for N	11	
Agent omission	V+V-ing	1	
	V + N_P + to-INF	212	
	V + N_P	158	23
	V + N_P + to passive-INF	88	
	V + N_P + for N	18	
	V + N_P + of N	2	
Total		792	25
Percentage of passive structures observed in the corpus		47.6%	73.5%

By comparing the passive structures observed for the two synonymous verbs *require* and *demand*, important similarities are identified. *Require* and *demand* shared two passive structures highlighted in yellow: the monovalent sentence pattern <V+N_P> and the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P>. Despite the low frequencies of occurrences of the verb *demand* in the comparable corpus, the passive clauses occurred in 73.5% of all occurrences of *demand*, suggesting that *demand* is more likely to be passive than active in the legal genre. For *require*, 792 (47.6%) of all its occurrences are in the passive, which means that the use of passive is likewise very common for *require* in legal language.

The data in this study shows the probabilities of the two semantically related verbs occurring in both valency patterns with the presence of the agent and with the absence of the agent. When *require* and *demand* are used in passive structures, the agent of the action is either eliminated or removed from the subject position and the patient takes up the subject position instead. In most passive clauses, the agent omitted from the surface structure can be implied and retrieved from the background information or context. Note that *require* has much more various types of passive

patterns than *demand*. As shown in Table 6-4, *require* is found to occur with four types of valency sentence patterns in the passive with the presence of the agent and six types of passive valency sentence patterns without the agent being mentioned. *Demand* occurs in one passive structure with the presence of the agent and one pattern with the agent being omitted.

As notes above in Section 6.2.1, passive clauses "present the event expressed by the verb in a different perspective" (Haspelmath & Muller-Bardey, 2001, p. 16). In passive clauses, the event is viewed from the perspective of the underlying direct object and attention is to be focused on the original object rather than the original subject (an agent). In the passive structures with the agent assigned, the status of prepositional complements is introduced by the preposition 'by', so there is no valency change at all. However, the removal of the agent in passive structures can lead to valence decreasing (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000). As can be seen from Table 6-4, the valency patterns with the presence of the agent are either divalent or trivalent patterns, whereas the agentless valency patterns are monovalent and divalent patterns. In order to more completely investigate how the two verbs are used in passive structures, the percentages of passive structures with or without the presence of the agent are compared, as illustrated in Figure 6-3.

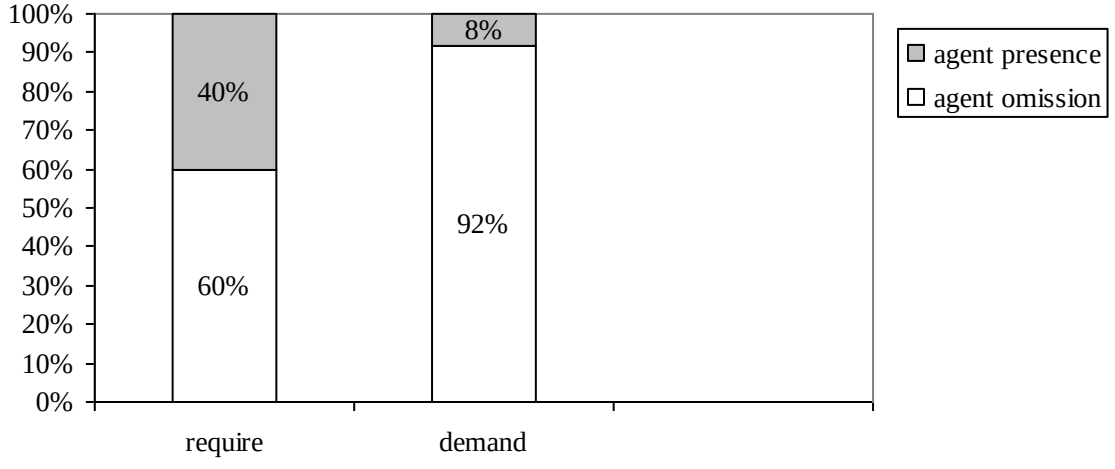

Figure 6-3 Proportions of passive structures with or without the presence of the agent

The percentage in Figure 6-3 reveals that both *require* and *demand* show stronger preference for agentless passive patterns in legislative texts. However, the comparable corpus data appears to indicate inequality in the proportions of passive structures with or without the presence of the agent for *require* and *demand*, with the proportion of agentless passive structures of *demand* being significantly higher than *require*. As can be seen from Figure 6-3, for *demand* the agentless passive pattern is more than eleven times more likely than the pattern with the presence of the agent, whereas the difference for *require* is 1.5 times. These different preferences of various passive patterns for *require* and *demand* are probably due to three reasons: (1) semantically it is unnecessary to mention the agent of an action when the agent is not important, or can be inferred from the context or is unknown; (2) syntactically the passives are needed for coherence, cohesion, focus and balance; and (3) stylistically passives are conventional in legislative documents.

6.3.2 Frequency analysis of the valency sentence patterns observed in the comparable corpus for *yaoqiu*

This subsection will discuss the frequencies of occurrences of the valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* observed in the comparable corpus. Table 6-5 shows the counts for various patterns of *yaoqiu* observed in the corpus.

Table 6-5 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* in the comparable corpus

	yaoqiu	
	Total	**%**
V+N	19	5%
V+VP	14	4%
N_A+V+N	16	4%
V+N_P+VP	6	2%
N_A+V+VP	114	29%
N_A+V+N_P+VP	211	54%
N_A+ xiang N+V+VP	8	2%
Total	388	100%

The comparable corpus has 388 hits of *yaoqiu* occurring with seven different valency sentence patterns including two monovalent, three divalent and two trivalent sentence patterns. *Yaoqiu*

occurs most frequently with the trivalent pattern with a personal direct object followed by a verbal phrase <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, accounting for 54% of all occurrences, as in Example (46).

46) 发明 专利 申请 公布 后, [申请人] 可以要求 [实施 其 发明
faming zhunli shenqing gongbu hou [*shenqingren*] *keyi yaoqiu* [*shishi qi faming*
Invention patent application publicize after, [applicant] may require [implement his/her invention

的 单位 或者 个人] [支付 适当 的 费用]。
de danwei huozhe geren] [*zhifu shidang de feiyong*]
[PAR organization or individual] [pay appropriate PAR fees]

46t) After the application for an invention patent is publicized, the applicant may <u>require</u> the organization or individual that exploits the said patent to pay appropriate fees.

From Example (46), it is clear that *yaoqiu* typically occurred with the agent directly following it and the action following the agent. This pattern seems to reflect the speaker's attitude to the addressee: the speaker says bluntly what he wants the addressee to do and the addressee is 'hit' directly with the speaker's wish. Thus, *yaoqiu* in this pattern is relatively personal. According to the above example, the applicant who *yaoqiu* seems to have the right to get what he/she wants. Therefore, this utterance carries great force, and by saying what the speaker (lawmaker) wants the addressee (the organization or individual that exploits the said patent) to do, the speaker can cause the addressee to do it. However, the applicant cannot *yaoqiu* the addressee to do other things irrelevant to the invention patent, due to the lack of any assumption that the applicant has authority over the organization or individual that exploits the said patent.

Yaoqiu also frequently occurs with the divalent pattern without the agent being mentioned, <N_A+V+ VP>, such as Example (47).

47) 投保人、 被保险人 未 按照 约定 履行 其 对保险 标的 的
toubaoren bei baoxianren wei anzhao yueding lüxing qi dui baoxian biaodi de
policy holder insured person not comply with agreement fulfil his/her to insured subject PAR

安全 应尽责任 的, [保险人] 有权 <u>要求</u> [增加 保险费 或者 解除 合同]。
anquan yingjin zeren de [*baoxianren*] *youquan* <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*zengjia baoxianfei huozhe jiechu hetong*]
safety obligation PAR [insurer] have right <u>require</u> [increase premium or terminate contract]

47t) In the event that a policy holder or insured fails to fulfill his/her contractual obligations to ensure the safety of the subject insured, the insurer has the right to <u>ask for</u> an increase in the premium or terminate the contract.

In the corpus, 114 hits of *yaoqiu* occurring with verbal phrases were found. As shown in Example (47), what the speaker wants is the desired action (increase premium or terminate the contract) rather than the agent who carries out the action, which supports the earlier claim that the stress of *yaoqiu* is not so much on the agent of the desired action as the action itself. Other patterns are much less frequent in the corpus such as the monovalent pattern <V+N> accounting for 5% of all occurrences, as in Example (48), the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> accounting for 4%, as in Example (49), and the trivalent pattern <N_A+ xiang N+V+VP> accounting for 2%, as in Example (50).

48) 要求本国优先权,申请人在请求书中写明在先申请的申请日和申请号的, 视为提交了在先申请文件副本。

要求 [本国 优先权],
yaoqiu [*benguo youxianquan*]
require domestic priority right

48t) Where domestic priority right is claimed and the applicant has stated in the written request the date of application of the Earlier Application and the application number, the duplicates of the documents for the Earlier Application shall be deemed to have been submitted.

49) 申请人要求本国优先权,在先申请是发明专利申请的,可以就相同主题提出发明或者实用新型专利申请。

[申请人] 要求 [本国 优先权],
[*shenqngren*] *yaoqiu* [*benguo* *youxianquan*]
[applicant] require [domestic priority right]

49t) Where an applicant claims the right of domestic priority, if the earlier application is one for a patent for invention, he or it may file an application for a patent for invention or utility model for the same subject matter.

50) [劳务 人员] 可以直接 [向 对外 劳务 合作企业] 要求
[l*aowu* *renyuan*] *keyi zhijie* [*xiang* *duiwai laowu* *hezuo qiye*] *yaoqiu*
([labor service personnel] may directly [towards foreign labor service cooperation enterprise] require

[赔偿]
[*peichang*]
[compensation]

50t) the labor service personnel may directly claim compensation from the enterprise engaging in foreign labor service cooperation.

As can be seen from the word-for-word translation in Example (48), the agent of *yaoqiu* is omitted, but the speaker can be easily retrieved from the following clause, as the two clauses have the same subject. Such omission is primarily the result of the need to reduce repetition in legal discourse. Example (50) shows that *yaoqiu* occurs with a prepositional complement '*xiang*' which is used to introduce the semantic component: the patient or recipient of *yaoqiu*. The noun phrase following the preposition '*xiang*' is also the agent who is supposed to carry out the desired action and it has to be placed in front of the main verb. By using the preposition '*xiang*', the agent is moved to a focused position in front of the verb *yaoqiu*, which shifts the emphasis of the sentence to the agent.

6.3.3 Contrastive analysis of the valency sentence patterns observed in the comparable corpus between *demand* and *require*, and their Chinese counterpart *yaoqiu*

The English directive SAVs *demand* and *require* are synonyms and they have the same Chinese translation equivalent, *yaoqiu*. A comparison of the frequency of occurrences and distribution of various syntactic patterns among them shows that there is a large difference in the frequency of occurrence among these three verbs. With 1664 occurrences in total in the English corpus, *require* occurred more than four times as often as *yaoqiu*, and about 49 times more often than *demand*.

Furthermore, *require* and *yaoqiu* occurred with much more versatile syntactic structures than *demand* which occurred with only two valency sentence patterns <V+ N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, as shown in Table 6-4. Notably, *demand* shared these two patterns with *require* and *yaoqiu*, such as in Examples (51) – (56).

51) This section applies if [a poll] <u>is duly demanded</u> on the question that the board limit resolution be passed.
51a) demand [a poll]
51b) demand [it]

52) If [consolidated financial statements] <u>are required</u>, the review under paragraph (a) must cover the consolidated entity.
52a) require [consolidated financial statements]
52b) require [them]

53) 要求 [本国 优先权]
yaoqiu [*benguo youxianquan*]
require domestic priority right

53t) Where domestic priority right is claimed and the applicant has stated in the written request the date of application of the Earlier Application and the application number, the duplicates of the documents for the Earlier Application shall be deemed to have been submitted.

54) [The applicant] demanded [an international preliminary examination] under Article 31 of the PCT before complying with the requirements of subsection 89 (3);

54b) [He/She] demands [it].

55) [The AML/CTF Rules] may require [information relating to the matters mentioned in paragraph 75C (2)(a) or in Rules made under paragraph 75C(2)(b)]

55b) [They] require [them/it].

56) [申请人] 要求 [本国 优先权], …
[*Shenqngren*] *yaoqiu* [*benguo* *youxianquan*]
[applicant] require [domestic priority right]

56t) Where an applicant claims the right of domestic priority,….

The examples above tell us that *demand*, *require* and *yaoqiu* are similar in their ability to take a noun phrase referring to a certain state of affairs as their direct object and they do not necessarily require an action or agent to be mentioned. However, although *demand*, *require* and *yaoqiu* shared the two valency sentence patterns, their structures are different: all occurrences with the monovalent valency patterns for the verb *demand* and *require* observed in the corpus of legislative texts are passive structures, as in Examples (51) and (52).

For the divalent valency pattern $<N_A+V+N_P>$, despite the use of active structures for *require* and *demand*, the two verbs still show a strong preference for passive structures, especially *require*. By contrast, all occurrences of *yaoqiu* with these two patterns in the corpus are found to be active structures, as in Examples (53) and (56). In fact, the noun phrase in the object position of the verb *yaoqiu* in these two patterns cannot be used as the subject of *yaoqiu* in a passive sentence. In other words, these two patterns in Chinese cannot be changed into passive structures.

The differences in the use of passive structures between *demand*, *require* and *yaoqiu* are the direct result of the way in which passive structures are used to accomplish linguistic goals in language

use. As discussed earlier, in Chinese, the '*bei*' structure is the most common way to express passive meaning. But the type of noun introduced by '*bei*' is determined by the meaning and function of the verb. *Yaoqiu* is essentially concerned with causing someone to do something. Although *yaoqiu* is aimed at an action or the outcome of an action, it requires an agent to cause the desired thing to happen. When *yaoqiu* is used in passive structure, only the personal noun or names of institutions and impersonal agents can occur as the subject, but there is no such semantic and syntactic restriction on the passive use of *require* and *demand*. The prevalence of passive forms in the corpus of English legal texts is partly due to the need for legal writing to be coherent and as precise as possible. Another reason is that passive structures are chosen to de-emphasize the doers of the actions, known to be a typical function of passive structures in English, particularly in legal English (Thompson, 1987).

Require and *yaoqiu* both occurr with a variety of valency sentence patterns in the corpus, but the distributions of the valency sentence patterns for the two verbs vary greatly. For example, the most frequent patterns for *require* occurring in the corpus are <N_A+V+N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, with 33% and 26% of all occurrences respectively, as in Examples (57) and (58). Meanwhile for the verb *yaoqiu*, the valency sentence pattern with a verbal phrase in object position, as in <N_A+V+N_P+VP> and <N_A+V+VP>, are notably more frequent, with 54% and 29% of all occurrences respectively, as in Examples (46) and (47) discussed above.

57) The trustee shall, at the request of the bankrupt, furnish to [the bankrupt information] reasonably <u>required by</u> [the bankrupt concerning his or her property or affairs].

57b) [They/It] require [them/it]

58) This section applies to a reporting entity if: (a) under section 49, the AUSTRAC CEO or [the Commissioner of Taxation] <u>has required</u> [the reporting entity] [to give information about the identity of: (i) particular credit card account];

58b) [They/It] has required [them] [to-infinitive clause]

Other than the two shared patterns, *require* and *yaoqiu* were found to occur in two pairs of formaly different but structurally similar patterns.

Require:	Yaoqiu:
<V+N_P+to-INF>	<V+N_P+VP>
<N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>	<N_A+V+N_P+VP>

The two pairs of valency sentence patterns both contain a verbal complement, but the forms of the verbs are different. The verbal complements in the patterns in which *require* occurred occurrs in the English legal texts are verbal structures consisting of non-finite verbs such as *to*-infinitive clause, while the realization form of the verbal complements for the Chinese verb *yaoqiu* was a verbal clause consisting of an uninflected verb.

Other than the shared valency sentence patterns discussed above, *require* and *yaoqiu* appear to vary greatly in the occurrences of other valency sentence patterns. For example, *require* occurred with object relative clauses with the presence of complementizer 'that' (59) and with passive infinitives with 'to' (60, 61), while *yaoqiu* did not occur in such structures.

59) [The Commissioner] <u>may require</u> [that a prescribed document relating to a basic application be made available to the Commissioner by the prescribed means and within the prescribed period].
59a) [They] may require [that-clause].

60) The word "Limited" may be omitted anywhere that [the name of the company] <u>is required</u> [to be used].
60a) require [the name of the company] [to be used]
60b) require [it] [to passive-infinitive clause]

61) [The Official Receiver or authorised officer] <u>may require</u> [the information or evidence] [to be given on oath, and either orally or in writing], and for that purpose may administer an oath.
61a) [They] may equire [them/it] [to passive-infinitive clause].

The passive infinitive, as in Examples (60) and (61), is used to focus on the receiver of the action or a certain state of affairs. The focus of Example (60), for example, is "the name of the company" and the speaker wants it to be used and expects the addressee or some other person involved to cause it to happen. Thus, *require* in *to* passive-infinitive structures is primarily aimed at an action or the outcome of the action, not the agent of the action.

Within the two corpora, 2% of all occurrences of *require* and 4% of all occurrences of *yaoqiu* have prepositional complements. The two types of prepositional complements for *require* observed in the corpus of legal texts are '*of*' prepositional complement (62) and '*for*' prepositional complement

(63). In data from the corpus of Chinese legal texts, *yaoqiu* was found to occur with the prepositional complements introduced by the prepositions '*xiang*', such as Example (64).

62) [A decision under subsection 161(2)] to <u>require</u> [certain things] [of a reporting entity], ….
62b) [It] requires [these] [of them]

63) [Notice] <u>is not required</u> [for moving the register between the registered office and the principal place of business in this jurisdiction].
63a) require [Notice] [for moving the register between the registered office and the principal place of business in this jurisdiction]
63b) require [it] [for it].

64) [劳务 人员] 可以直接 [向 对外 劳务 合作企业] <u>要求</u>
[*laowu renyuan*] *keyi zhijie* [*xiang duiwai laowu hezuo qiye*] <u>*yaoqiu*</u>
[labor service personnel] may directly [towards foreign labor service cooperation enterprise] <u>require</u>
[赔偿]
peichang]
[compensation]
64t) the labor service personnel may directly <u>claim</u> compensation from the enterprise engaging in foreign labor service cooperation.

As can be seen from the above examples, the Chinese prepositional complement '*xiang*' can only precede the main verb. In contrast, the English prepositional complements '*of*' and '*for*' always directly follow the noun phrases rather than directly preceding or following the main verb *require*. There is also a difference in the semantic functions that they serve. The preposition '*xiang*' is similar to '*of*' in presenting the agent who is supposed to perform the desired action, but '*for*' is used to introduce the person or thing that the desired action is intended to affect. This shows that the semantic difference of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs is reflected in their valency sentence patterns.

6.4 Contrastive analysis of the valency sentence patterns of *prescribe* and *guiding* in the comparable corpus

The frequencies and distributions of the valency sentence patterns for *prescribe* and *guiding* in the comparable corpus are listed in Table 6-6 and Table 6-7, respectively. In the comparable corpus, high frequencies of occurrences of the English verb *prescribe* and its Chinese translation

equivalent *guiding* were obtained, and remarkable similarities in their syntactic patterns were found.

Table 6-6 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *prescribe*

	prescribe	
	Total	%
$V+N_P$	262	43%
N_A+V+N_P	341	57%
Total	603	100%

Table 6-7 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *guiding*

	guiding	
	Total	%
V+N	135	8%
N+You N +V	254	14%
N_A+V+N_P	1307	73%
N_A+V+ V-clause	98	5%
Total	1794	100%

As can be seen in Table 6-6 and Table 6-7, *prescribe* occurred in two patterns <$V+N_P$> and <N_A+V+N_P> in the corpus and it shared these two patterns with *guiding*. It should be noted, however, that the noun complement (N) for *guiding* which act as object of a *guiding* in a finite active clause in the pattern <V+N> cannot occur as the subjet of a finite passive clause, while the noun complement (N_P) of *prescribe* in the pattern <$V+N_P$> can occur as subject in a finite passive clause. Moreover, both *prescribe* and *guiding* predominantly occurred in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, with 57% and 73%, respectively. This finding confirms the claim that synonymous SAVs are likely to occur with shared syntactic patterns which reflect their shared semantic components.

However, the differences in the frequencies and distributions of the observed valency sentence patterns for the two verbs seem large. *Guiding* in the Chinese legislative texts occurred three times more frequently than did *prescribe* in the English legislative texts. One possible reason for such a difference is that the preposition is active in English (Zhang, 2007) and the action of *prescribing* in English legislative texts is frequently expressed by prepositional phrases such as ‘in accordance

with laws', while in Chinese verbs are much more active than prepositional and thus the directive SAV *guiding* is more likely to be used to carry out the action of prescribing in Chinese legislative texts.

First, *prescribe* occurred with only two valency sentence patterns, <V+N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P>, in the corpus, whereas *guiding* occurred with more varied syntactic patterns <V+N>, <N_A+V+N_P>, <N+you N+V>, and <N_A+V+V-clause>. Second, the verb *prescribe* occurred predominantly in the passive structures. Notably all occurrences of *prescribe* in the monovalent pattern <V+N_P> are passive clauses without referring to the agent who carries out the action. Further, 254 (74%) of occurrences of *prescribe* with the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> are passive clauses with the agent specified using a prepositional phrase 'by'. In total the passive structures add up to 86% of all occurrences of *prescribe* obtained in the comparable corpus. It is worth mentioning that *prescribe* is most frequently used in the past participle form, as demonstrated in Examples (65) and (66).

65) The petition must be in [the form] <u>prescribed</u>.
65) The petition must be in [the form] that is <u>prescribed</u>.
65b) prescribe [this/it].

66) This Part does not apply to [an instruction of a kind] <u>prescribed</u> [by the AML/CTF Rules].
66a) This Part does not apply to [an instruction of a kind] that is <u>prescribed</u> [by the AML/CTF Rules].
66b) [They] prescribe [this/it]

In the comparable corpus, the past participle *prescribed* is found to occur both preceding and following a noun phrase. When following the noun phrase, *prescribe* in the past participle form acts in the same way as a simple passive voice finite relative clause and the participle clause gives more information about the noun phrase preceding it, as demonstrated in Examples (65a) and (66a). When transforming these sentences into active clauses, the noun phrase preceding the past participle *prescribed* is the object of the verb and the noun introduced by the preposition '*by*' following *prescribed* is the subject, and thus the structure is categorized as the pattern <N_A+V+N_P> and <V+N_P> when the subject is omitted. When preceding the noun phrase, such as 'a prescribed financial market' or 'a prescribed reason', *prescribed* functions as a pre-modifying adjective to noun phrases and is excluded from the analysis.

In contrast, all the occurrences of *guiding* observed in the corpus are active structures. For example, the most frequent valency patterns with which *guiding* occurred in the comparable corpus is the divalent pattern in active use <N_A+V+N_P>, with 1307 occurrences accounting for 73% of all occurrences, such as in Example (67).

67) [中国 人民 银行] 为 执行 货币 政策, 运用 前款 所列
zhongguo renmin yinhang wei zhixing huobi zhengce yunyong qiankuan suolie
[People's Bank of China] for implement monetary policy apply preceding paragraph listed

货币 政策 工具 时, 可以 规定 [具体 的 条件 和 程序]。
huobi zhengce gongju shi keyi guiding juti de tiaojian he chengxu
monetary policy instrument when may prescribe [specific PAR requirements and procedures]

67t) When applying the monetary policy instruments listed in the preceding paragraph to implement monetary policies, the People's Bank of China may work out specific requirements and procedures.

The Chinese verb *guiding* does not have an equivalent structure using the past participle form, but depends on the word order and function words to give more information about the noun phrases following it, as Example (68).

68) 采用 抽样 方式 核定 损失 程度 的, 应当 符合 ［有关 部门］
caiyong chouyang fangshi heding sunshi chengdu de yingdang fuhe [*youguan bumen*]
Adopt sampling method assess damage extent PAR shall comply with [relevant department]

规定 的 ［抽样 技术 规范］。
guiding de [*chouyang jishu guifan*]
prescribe PAR [sampling technical standard]

68t) Where the sampling method is adopted to assess and determine the extent of damage, the insurance institution shall comply with the technical standards on sampling as prescribed by relevant departments.

Within the comparable corpus, as high as 70% of the occurrences of *guiding* occurred in the structure '*N guiding de N*'. As shown in Example (68), linked by the structural particle '*de*', *guiding* precedes the noun phrase that it modifies. From the surface structure, the verb *guiding* seems to be used as an attributive to modify the noun phrase "抽样技术规范 (sampling technical standard)". However, the surface structure is ambiguous and does not represent the valency sentence pattern. The role of the noun phrases preceding and following the verb *guiding* can be identified by changing the structure into a simple active clause and applying the substitution test.

68a) [有关 部门] 规定 [抽样 技术 规范]
[*youguan bumen*] *guiding* [*chouyang jishu* *guifan*]
[relevant department] prescribe [sampling technical standard]

It is thus found that example sentence (68a) is an equivalent structure to sentence (68), and the meaning between the two structures is retained. It appears that *guiding* functions as a verb in this structure and the noun that it modifies can be seen as its object. Since these structures only occur with verbs that govern a nominal complement (e.g. *guiding*), I decided to categorize these occurrences as noun complements under the divalent pattern $<N_A+V+N_P>$ or monovalent pattern $<V+N_P>$. The frequent use of *guiding* in this pattern is mainly because the noun phrase with the subordinate clause modifier is very long and complicated, so it cannot be understood properly if it is combined with the main clause.

This reflects the well-known difference between English and Chinese legal language. English legislative texts are characterized by long and complex sentences with extensive use of long modifiers (Cao, 2007), whereas Chinese texts usually avoid long sentences with long modifiers, and short sentences separated by comma are much more common in Chinese legislative texts. Moreover, many other factors such as general grammar, semantic considerations, and functions of the verb *guiding* in a sentence may also contribute to the high rate of use of such structure in Chinese legislative texts.

The dominant use of passive voice for the verb *prescribe* in the corpus might be a stylistic choice to give an impression of objectivity and distance to the readers. The omission of agent of the action in the passive structure is probably because semantically it is unnecessary to mention the agent of an action when the agent is not important, or can be inferred from the context or is unknown, as with the common passive structures of other English SAVs noted above. For example, when *prescribing*, the speaker's goal is to cause a certain category of people to know what they should do and cause them to do it by the speech act. The agent of the action can be a person in authority, an institution, or certain legal documents enacted by people with power or authority. The agent of the action is often unimportant and unnecessary to be mentioned and thus often hidden with an impersonal style by means of passives. The strong preference for passives for the verb *prescribe* is

also partly due to syntactic reasons. As indicated by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the theme of a clause is the point of departure of the message in the clause and the remainder of the clause is the rheme. What is prescribed in legal texts is often made as the theme of a clause and placed in initial position within the clause as it is often long, complicated and important, and its importance can be successfully emphasized by being given the special status of point of departure.

However, no passive structures were observed for *prescribe*'s Chinese translation equivalent *guiding*. Chinese is a language without voice and "passive voice is mainly expressed in a covert way rather than a marked way" (Wang & Li, 2007, p. 48). The only marked passivity in Chinese is *bei*-structure, but its use is very limited, as I have discussed above (see also Liu, 1991). English verbs are inflected to indicate their relationship with the subject, such as in Examples (65) and (66), while the form of the Chinese verbs does not change, as in Example (67).

Although Chinese verbs are not marked with voice categories, they have their own way to show that the subject is the affected entity or the patient of the action. In Chinese, the passive meaning can be conveyed by lexical and syntactic means, including word order, function word, and lexical devices such as '*bei*', '*gei*', '*you*', '*jiao*', '*zao*' and so on. In the comparable corpus, *guiding* was found to be used with active form to express passive meaning marked by the preposition '*you*'. The most common structure for *guiding* appearing in the corpus is '*N you N guiding*' as in Example (69).

69) [具体　办法]　[由　国务院]　规定
[*juti*　*banfa*]　[*you*　*guowuyuan*] *guiding*
[Specific measure] [by State Council] prescribe
69t) The specific measures in this regard shall be prescribed by the State Council.

It can be seen that the English verb *prescribe* depends on the function of the past participle form *prescribed* to express passive meaning, but *guiding* depends on preposition and word order.

Such syntactic difference between English and Chinese directive SAVs poses difficulties for the translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese. When rendering an English passive structure by a Chinese active structure, the focus of the message may change. The translator should bear this in mind and find the appropriate structure in the target language to convey equivalent

meaning and produce equivalent legal force. It is suggested that translators should try to use more passive structures when translating Chinese directive SAVs to English. In Chinese, the focus is always at the end of a sentence. When the information placed at the back is the focus, translators should consider using passive voice in English, as in English the important information is normally placed at the start.

For example, one of the Chinese equivalents of English verb *prescribe* is *guiding*. English legislative texts use *prescribe* in a passive construction without a human subject, while Chinese does not have an equivalent structure using the past participle form of verbs after a noun, as all modifiers in Chinese come before the noun. This can be rendered in Chinese by using an active construction with a human or non-human noun phrase and function words. For example, when translating Chinese into English, *guiding* with the structure '*X guiding de Y*' is typically translated as a passive verbal clause or a subordinate clause in passive as 'Y prescribed by X' or 'Y that is prescribed by X'.

An interesting case for discussion is the prepositional complement '*you*' for the verb *guiding* as shown in Table 6-7. Within the comparable corpus, 13% of the occurrences of *guiding* occurred in the divalent sentence pattern with the prepositional complement '*you*' <N_P+you N_A+V>. To recapitulate, the Chinese preposition '*you*' means 'by' and is used to indicate the agent or doer of an action and always precedes the main verb. The prepositional phrase with '*you*' in such valency sentence patterns is treated as a prepositional complement, as it represents the contents of the action rather than a prepositional phrase forming part of the subject or the object complement. Thus, it is not only syntactically required, but also semantically obligatory.

'*You*' complements always precede the main verb. The receiver of the action can be placed either before '*you*' <N_P+you N_A+V> (69) or after the main verb <you N_A+V+N_P>. No occurrences with the receiver of the action following the verb were observed for the verb *guiding*. This suggests that no difference in semantic meaning and syntactic function is detected for the prepositional complement at the two different positions.

The differences between *prescribe* and *guiding* in the use of prepositional complements are the direct result of the way in which structures are used to accomplish specific goals or achieve legal effects in legal discourse. The prepositional complement '*you*' is used to show emphasis in the agent of *guiding*, especially in the pattern <N_P+you N_A+V>. This pattern is preferable in the legal context when the lawmakers want readers to focus on the person doing the action of *guiding* rather than the result of the action.

6.5 Discussion of the results of the contrastive analysis

From the analysis above, it can be seen that the comparable corpus built for the current study provides a solid empirical basis for a contrastive analysis of the semantic meanings and syntactic patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in the legal genre. There are some common points in the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs. For one thing, they are overlapping in certain semantic mappings, through which directive speech acts are conceptualized. For another, the examined directive SAVs that are semantically similar in English or Chinese share certain valency sentence patterns within and across the two languages, which reflect their shared semantic features.

For example, *order*, *direct*, *instruct* and *require* – which are semantically closely related – share a considerable number of valency sentence patterns in the comparable corpus. The data shows that these four SAVs all occurred in the trivalent pattern with an infinitive clause <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>. Moreover, the three synonymous verbs *order*, *direct* and *require* shared five syntactic patterns in the comparable corpus (<N_A+V+that-clause>, <V+N_P+to-INF>, <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, <V+N_P+to passive-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF>). In addition, the three verbs *order*, *require* and *prescribe* displayed similar proportions of the valency sentence patterns in agentless passive structures and valency patterns in passive structures with the presence of the agent.

The examined Chinese SAVs also share a considerable number of patterns, which seems to indicate that synonymous and near-synonymous verbs tend to share the same valency sentence patterns, as was indicated in the analysis of the English SAVs. Although *yaoqiu*, *xialing*, *zhiling*, *zecheng* are

infrequent, an overall similar tendency is notable. The valency sentence patterns observed for the verbs *xialing*, *zhiling*, *zecheng*, *zeling*, *yaoqiu* and *guiding* share much in common, with verbal phrases, direct object complements and simple active declaratives. *Zeling*, *yaoqiu*, *zecheng* and *zhiling* were frequently used in the syntactic frame <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, which implies that the lawmakers want the addressee to be directly affected by their wish and that they expect to cause, through their language, an action to be undertaken by the addressee. This suggests that the semantic meaning of each directive SAV is closely related to its syntactic patterns.

Furthermore, the comparison of the valency sentence patterns of the English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts display a similarity in their valency sentence patterns. The Chinese directive SAVs *zeling*, *zecheng* and *zhiling*, which are possible translation equivalents of *direct*, *order* and *instruct*, have the same preferred syntactic pattern as *direct*, *order* and *instruct* <N_A+V+N_P+VP> in the corpus. The English directive SAVs *demand* and *require*, and their Chinese translation equivalent *yaoqiu* occurred with two shared valency sentence patterns, <V+ N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P+VP>. *Prescribe* and its Chinese translation equivalent *guiding* occurred with two shared patterns, <V+N/N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P>, in the corpus. These findings suggest that synonymous SAVs are likely to occur with shared syntactic patterns in the legal genre, which reflects their shared semantic components.

Nevertheless, the linguistic differences between the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs observed in the comparable corpus seem more prominent than their commonalities. The relatively important linguistic and cultural differences within and across the two languages revealed by the earlier contrastive analysis are summarized as follows, in points (1) to (5), and each discussed in turn:

(1) There is a correspondence of categories of semantic components across the languages but not complete overlap.

In terms of semantic components, the examined English directive SAVs and their closest Chinese counterparts do not exactly map onto each other across languages. First, some English directive SAVs seem to be more general than their counterparts in Chinese. For example, the English verbs

order and *command* do not specify the manner in which the speaker performs the act, while their Chinese counterparts *chilling*, *heling* and *leling* are typically quite specific regarding the manner in which the speaker directs the addressee to perform the desired action. (*Heling* means ordering by shouting loudly. Similarly, *chiling* is usually sharp and impulsive, and carried out by yelling or shouting loudly. *Leling* is normally abrupt and severe.)

Furthermore, some Chinese directive SAVs have cultural connotations that are not shared by their English counterparts, and *vice versa*. The Chinese directive SAVs *zecheng* and *zeling* imply that the speaker has a negative opinion about a bad situation or a bad action of the addressee and the propositional content of these two verbs usually concerns a desired action to stop the bad action, however, their English counterparts *order*, *direct* or *instruct* do not have such an implication.

Thus, some English directive SAVs, such as *order* and *direct*, might have a large number of Chinese counterparts that express similar meaning as their English counterpart, but have their distinct semantic components. The "compound" nature of word formation for Chinese greatly contributes to such differences. Most Chinese words are created by combining morphemes, differently from what usually happens in English.

Moreover, some Chinese SAVs seem to be equivalent to a mixture of two or more English SAVs. For example, semantically *yaoqiu* is a combination of the English verbs *demand* and *require*. As discussed in Table 5-23, *yaoqiu* is similar to *demand* and *require* in the illocutionary purpose of causing the addressee to do something, in the implication of speaker's certainty to the outcome, in lacking the assumption of hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee and in its formal and firm style. But *yaoqiu* does not fulfil the same function as *require* does in English. This is probably because Chinese and English differ in specific conceptualizations of directive speech acts, though they are similar in certain linguistic manifestations and conceptual mappings. As Zhang (2007, p. 205) suggests, different languages have different ways to "combine semantic components into lexical words", which reflect the differences in "the ways in which their speakers organize, classify and categorize the world".

(2) There are dramatic differences in the frequency of occurrence of SAV sentence patterns in the comparable corpus of legislative texts across the languages.

In terms of the usage in the comparable corpus, first, the frequencies of occurrences of the eight English directive SAVs vary considerably. The corpus has no occurrences of *command* and *tell (to)*. This is mainly due to the semantic features of the two verbs and the genre of legislative texts. *Commands* are typically present oriented and do not appeal to the addressee's understanding, but rather are expected to "act as signals triggering an action almost automatically" (Wierzbicka, 1987). However, legislation is usually future-oriented and does appeal to the addressee's understanding. Though the primary function of legislation is to confer a right, privilege or power and impose liabilities or obligations on others (Watson-Brown 1997, p. 38), the lawmaker normally does not expect an immediate and automatic response by the addressee.

The primary reason that can explain the rare use of *tell (to)* in the comparable corpus is the discourse needs of written legislative texts. Legislation is typically featured by "formal and impersonal written style coupled with considerable complexity and length" (Cao, 2007, p. 21). Thus *tell (to)* which is typically characterized by informal and personal style is rarely employed in legislative written texts. The frequencies of occurrences for *require*, *prescribe*, *direct*, *order*, *demand* and *instruct* are illustrated in Figure 6-4.

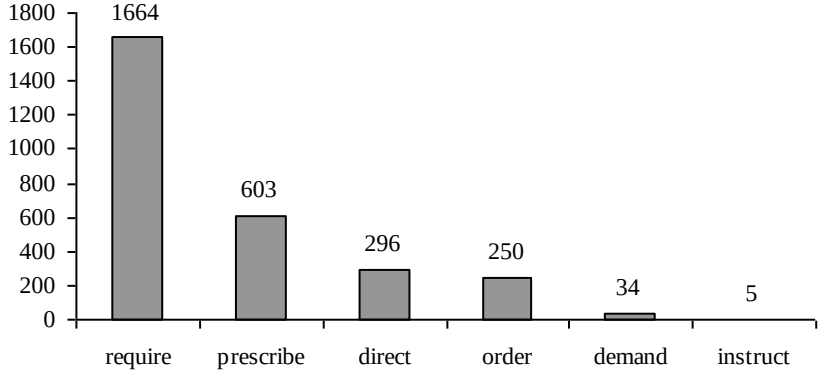

Figure 6-4 Frequencies of occurrences of *instruct, demand, order, direct, prescribe* and *require* in the comparable corpus

As shown in Figure 6-4, the verbs *require* and *prescribe* have a high likelihood of being used in legislative discourse, while the verbs *direct* and *order* have a comparatively low likelihood of being used in legislative discourse. The two verbs *demand* and *instruct* are found to be exceedingly rare in the corpus. With regard to the frequency difference among the six verbs, I suggested that the formal discursive register of written English legislative texts in the corpus contributes to this disparity. In addition, the high or low frequency of occurrence of each verb is also likely to be due to semantic factors such as the sense of the verbs and the topics and information stipulated.

Secondly, there is a dramatic difference in the frequencies of occurrences among the examined Chinese directive SAVs. The comparable corpus has 1794 occurrences of the verb *guiding* in total, which is more than twice as frequent as *zeling*, more than four times more frequent than *yaoqiu*. The three Chinese verbs *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* are exceedingly rare in the corpus, each with less than ten occurrences. No occurrences were observed for the Chinese directive SAVs *mingling*, *haoling*, *chiling*, *heling* and *leling* in the comparable corpus. Figure 6-5 shows the counts for frequencies of occurrences of *guiding*, *zeling*, *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* in order of frequency in the corpus.

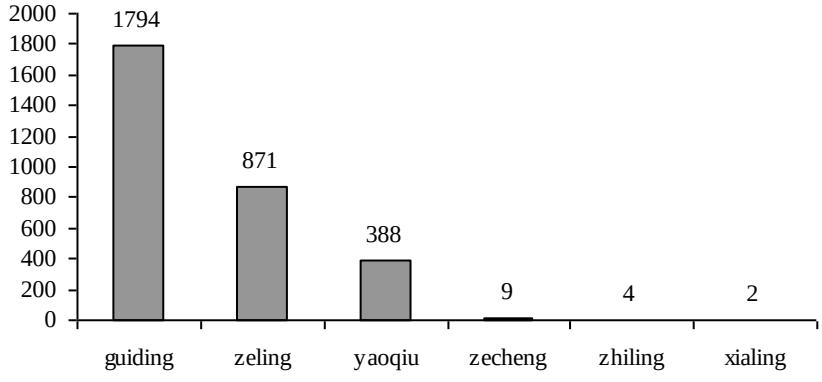

Figure 6-5 Frequencies of occurrences of *guiding, zeling, yaoqiu, zhidao, zecheng, zhiling* and *xialing* in the comparable corpus

The data suggests that *guiding*, *zeling* and *yaoqiu* are more likely to be used in Chinese legislative texts to impose duties and establish legal obligations than their synonyms or near synonyms, as the use of verbs are to a large extent the direct result of the register and context in which they are used.

Thirdly, the English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts appear to vary greatly in their frequencies of occurrences in the comparable corpus. For example, the corpus has 388 hits of the Chinese verb *yaoqiu*, whereas the corpus has a dramatic high rate of use of its English counterpart *require* with 1664 occurrences but a low rate of use of its English counterpart *demand* with 34 occurrences. This is mainly the result of the relationship between the discourse needs of written legislative texts and the discourse functions served by each verb.

(3) Differences regarding the complement types, valency sentence patterns and frequency of occurrences are found for the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in the comparable corpus across languages.

A comparison of the frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *order*, *demand*, *direct*, *instruct*, *require* and *prescribe* observed in the comparable corpus shows that these synonymous and near-synonymous verbs have different preferred valency sentence patterns and different usage within shared patterns which distinguish them from each other in legislative context. There are dramatic differences among the six verbs with respect to the valency sentence patterns occurring in the comparable corpus. The verbs *require*, *direct* and *order* occurred in a more varied syntactic environment in the corpus than *demand*, *instruct* and *prescribe*.

The valency sentence patterns observed for *require*, *prescribe*, *direct*, *order*, *demand* and *instruct* in the comparable corpus are summarized in Table 6-8.

Table 6-8 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *require, prescribe, direct, order, demand* and *instruct* in the comparable corpus

	require		***prescribe***		***direct***		***order***		***demand***		***instruct***	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
N_A+V												
V+V-ing	1	0%										
V+N_P	158	9%	262	43%			3	1%	23	68%		
N_A+V+N_P	545	33%	341	57%			64	26%	11	32%		
N_A+V+ that-clause	68	4%	0		47	16%	60	24%	0		0	
N_A+V+ Wh-clause			0									
N_A+V+Quote					0		0		0		0	
N_A+V+ to-INF									0			
N_A+V+V-ing	0											
N_A+V+ Otherwise							27	11%				
V+N_P+to-INF	212	13%			6	2%	6	2%				
N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	428	26%			231	78%	79	32%			10	100%
V+N_P+to passive-INF	88	5%			3	1%	1	0%				
N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF	130	8%			9	3%	10	4%	0			
N_A+V+ N_P+Quote					0		0				0	
V+N_P+for N	18	1%										
N_A+V+N_P+for N	12	1%							0			
V+N_P+of N	2	0%										
N_A+V+N_P+of N	1	0%							0			
N_A+V+ from N+that-clause									0			
N_A+V+ of N+ that-clause									0			
N_A+V+N_P+from N	0								0			
Total	**1664**	**100 %**	**603**	**100 %**	**296**	**100 %**	**250**	**100 %**	**34**	**100%**	**5**	**100%**

Notably some of the identified patterns for each verb that are listed in Table 6-8 are not observed in the comparable corpus. These patterns are highlighted in green in Table 6-8. For example, *demand* only occurs in two identified patterns in the corpus and there are no occurrences of the other nine identified patterns in the corpus.

The six English directive SAVs display interesting different preferences for their shared valency pattern. As shown in Table 6-8, all the six verbs can occur with the divalent pattern with a *that*-clause in the object position. However, most notable in a comparison of the occurrences of the six verbs in the comparable corpus is that *demand*, *instruct* and *prescribe* are not found to be directly

followed by a *that*-clause, while *order*, *direct* and *require* frequently are. This indicates that the six verbs have different preferences for shared valency sentence patterns in legislative texts. Moreover, the six verbs also have different preferred patterns in the corpus which distinguish them from each other. For example, *prescribe* only occurs with a noun phrase in the object position in the active clause as in the monovalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> and the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P>. *Direct* shows strong preference for the trivalent pattern with a noun phrase plus a to-infinitive clause <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and the patterns with quote are not used in the legislative texts.

Furthermore, the preference for passive structures varies to a great extent among the six English SAVs. It is found that the verbs *demand*, *prescribe* and *require* show much stronger preference for passive structures than *order*, *direct* and *instruct* in the corpus of English legislative texts.With the exception of *instruct*, all the other five verbs occurred in one or more passive structures with the agent (N_A) of the action being omitted and all these passive patterns are highlighted in blue in Table 6-8. The frequencies and distributions of all passive structures for the six SAVs are illustrated in Table 6-9.

Table 6-9 Frequencies and distributions of passive structures of *prescribe, demand, require, direct, order* and *instruct*

		prescribe	***demand***	***require***	***direct***	***order***	***instruct***
Agent presence	N_A+V+N_P	254	2	172	23	6	
	N_A+V+N_P+ to-INF			68	6		
	N_A+V+N_P+ to passive-INF			62		2	
	N_A+V+N_P+ for N			11			
Agent omission	V+V-ing			1			
	V + N_P	262	23	158	5	3	
	V + N_P + to-INF			212	6	6	
	V + N_P + to passive-INF			88	3	1	
	V + N_P + for N			18			
	V + N_P + of N			2			
Total		516	25	792	43	18	0
Percentage of occurrences that are used in passive structures		85.6%	73.5%	47.6%	12.9%	7.2%	0.0%

The comparable corpus has a very low frequency of the passive patterns for *order* and *direct* accounting for much lesser percentages of their occurrences. This suggests that patterns in passive structures are not commonly used for *order*, *direct* and *instruct* in legislative texts. This contrasts with the verb *prescribe* which is very likely (85.6%) to be used in passive patterns in legislative texts as in Example (67).

70) Approved third-party bill payment system means [a bill payment system] prescribed [by the AML/CTF Rules].

70r) a Approved third-party bill payment system means [a bill payment system that] is prescribed [by the AML/CTF Rules].

70a) [The AML/CTF Rules] prescribe [a bill payment system]

70b) [They] prescribe [it]

Demand and *require* also show strong preference for the patterns in the passive as illustrated in Table 6-9. Despite the low frequencies of occurrences of the verb *demand* in the corpus, the passive clauses occurred in 73.5% of all occurrences observed, suggesting that *demand* is also more likely to be passive than active in legislative discourse. *Require* has the highest frequency of occurrences of passive clauses among the six verbs and the passives account for 47.6% of all its occurrences.

As noted in Section 6.2.1, passive clauses "do not make a dramatic change in the semantic content of a verb; rather, they present the event expressed by the verb in a different perspective" (Haspelmath & Muller-Bardey, 2001, p. 16), In passive clauses the event is viewed from the perspective of the underlying direct object and attention is to be focused on the original object rather than the original subject (an agent). In the passive structures with the agent assigned the status of prepositional complements introduced by the preposition 'by', there is no valency change at all. However, the removal of the agent in passive structures can lead to valence decreasing (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000). As can be seen from Table 6-9, the valency patterns with the presence of the agent are either divalent or trivalent valency patterns, while the agentless valency patterns are monovalent and divalent valency patterns as the agent arguments are entirely omitted.

One point worth raising concerns the probabilities of the five verbs *order*, *demand*, *direct*, *prescribe* and *require* occurring in both valency patterns with the presence of the agent and with the agent being omitted as illustrated in Figure 6-6.

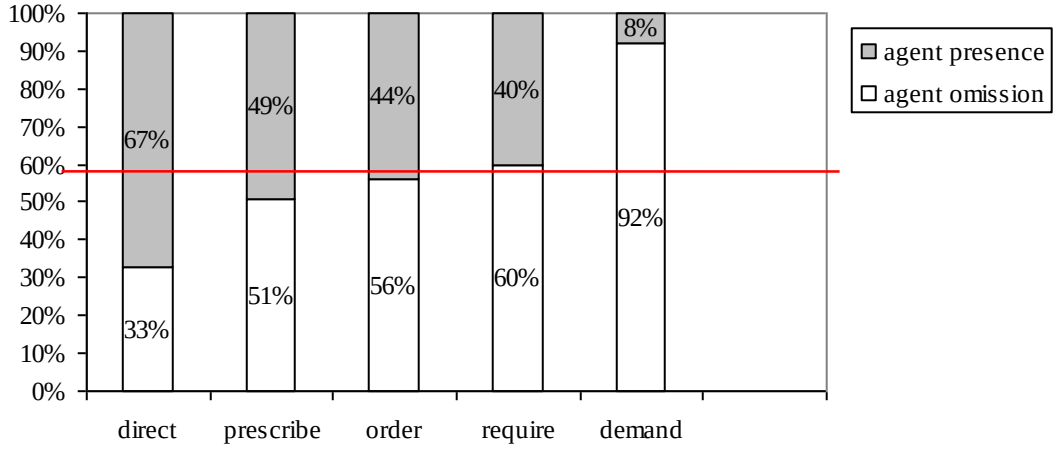

Figure 6-6 Proportions of passive structures with or without the presence of the agent

When used in passive structures, the agent is either removed from the subject position and the patient takes up the subject position instead, or eliminated completely. In most passive clauses the agent being omitted from the surface can be implied and retrieved from the background information or context. With the exception of *instruct*, the five English verbs under investigation, as shown in Table 6-9, were found to occur with four types of passive valency sentence patterns with the presence of the agent and six types of passive valency sentence patterns with the agent being omitted.

As shown in Figure 6-6, the mean proportion of agentless passive clauses for the five verbs in the English legislative texts is 57.7%. Alternatively, it can also be described by the mean proportion of passive clauses with the presence of the agent which is 42.3%. The percentage in Figure 6-6 appears to indicate non-equility in the proportions of passive structures with or without the presence of the agent for the five English verbs, with the proportion of agentless passive structures of *demand* being significantly higher than the corpus mean (57.7%) and the proportion of agentless passive structures of *direct* being considerably lower than the corpus mean. However, the three

verbs *order*, *require* and *prescribe* displayed similar proportions of agentless passive structures, with the proportions of agentless passive structures of *order* and *prescribe* being 7.7% and 1.7% below the corpus mean respectively and with the proportion of agentless passive structures of *require* exceeding the corpus mean by 2.3%.

Different preferences for passives of various patterns for these English verbs are probably due to three reasons: (1) semantically it is unnecessary to mention the agent of an action when the agent is not important, or can be inferred from the context or is unknown; (2) syntactically the passives are needed for coherence, cohesion, focus and balance; (3) stylistically passives are requied in legal documents to give an impression of objectivity and distance to the readers

(4) In terms of the valency sentence patterns of the examined Chinese directive SAVs, a great degree of differentiation among these verbs has been identified, as summarized in Table 6-10.

Table 6-10 Identified valency patterns of *mingling, xialing, zhiling, haoling, chiling, heling, leling, zecheng, zeling, yaoqiu* and *guiding*

	mingling	*xialing*	*zhiling*	*haoling*	*chiling*	*heling*	*leling*	*zecheng*	*zeling*	*yaoqiu*	*guiding*
N_P+ you N_A+V				√							√
you N_A+V+N_P				√							√
N_A+V+N_P	√			√						√	√
you N+V+VP		√							√		
N_A+V+ V-clause		√									√
N_A+V+Quote	√	√				√				√	√
N_A+V+VP		√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	
N_A+V+N_P+VP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
N_A+V+ N_P+Quote	√					√					
N_A+V+N_P+Wh-VP										√	
N_A+ dui N+V+VP		√					√		√		
dui N+ you N_A+ V+VP									√		
you N+V+N_P+VP									√		
N_A+ xiang N+V+VP		√								√	
N_A+ dui N+V+ N											√
N_A+ xiang N+V+ N				√						√	
N_A+ dui N+V+Quote		√		√		√	√				
N_A+xiang N+V+ Quote		√		√		√				√	

A comparison of the identified valency sentence patterns for the eleven synonymous and near-synonymous Chinese directive SAVs has shown that no pattern can occur with them all. None of them can occur with exactly the same valency sentence patterns as another. With nine identified valency sentence patterns, *zeling* and *xialing* can occur in the most varied syntactic environment, followed by *haoling* and *yaoqiu* each with eight identified valency sentence patterns. The verbs *guiding* and *heling* can occur in six different valency sentence patterns. *Mingling* and *leling* less versatile syntactic environment with four valency sentence patterns. Two valency sentence patterns were identified for the verbs *chiling* and *heling*. *Zecheng* with one identified valency sentence pattern has the fewest number of patterns.

In the divalent pattern, all the examined Chinese directive SAVs can occur with a subject and an object complement, but the realization forms of the object for each verb vary. For example, for *zhiling*, *leling* and *zeling*, one realization form of the object is identified: with a verbal clause <N_A+V+VP>. For *haoling*, two realization forms of the object are possible: with a noun phrase <N_A+V+N_P> and with a verbal clause <N_A+V+VP>. For the verbs *yaoqiu*, the object is realized with a noun phrase <N_A+V+N_P>, a quote <N_A+V+Quote> or a verbal clause <N_A+V+VP>. All the examined Chinese directive SAVs have their distinct trivalent patterns which distinguish them from each other. For example, the verb *mingling* and *heling* can be used with the reported structure <N_A+V+N_P+Quote> to indicate direct speech, *guiding* with the prepositional complement '*dui*' <N_A+dui N+V+N>, *xialing* and *yaoqiu* with the prepositional complement '*xiang*' <N_A+xiang N+V+VP>.

Secondly, there is a large difference in the frequencies of occurrences among the eight Chinese directive SAVs. It is surprising to find that no occurrences were observed for the Chinese directive SAVs *mingling*, *haoling*, *chiling*, *heling* and *leling* in the comparable corpus. Table 6-11 shows the counts for the valency sentence patterns of *guiding*, *zeling*, *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* in order of frequency in the corpus of Chinese legal texts.

The corpus had 1794 occurrences of the verb *guiding* in total, which is more than two times more frequent than *zeling*, more than four times more frequent than *yaoqiu*. The three Chinese verbs

xialing, *zhiling* and *zecheng* are exceedingly rare in the corpus, each with less than ten occurrences. The observed frequencies of these eight verbs are to a large extent the direct result of the register and context in which these verbs are used.

Table 6-11 Frequencies of the valency sentence patterns of *guiding*, *zeling*, *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling*, and *xialing*

	guiding		***zeling***		***yaoqiu***		***zecheng***		***zhiling***		***xialing***	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
V+N	135	8%			19	5%						
V+VP			189	22%	14	4%						
N_P+You N +V	254	14%										
you N_A+V+N_P	0											
N_A+V+N_P	1307	73%			16	4%						
V+N_P+VP			16	2%	6	2%						
N_P+bei V+VP			9	1%								
You N+V+VP			512	59%							0	
N_A+V+ V-clause	98	5%									0	
N_A+V+Quote	0				0						0	
N_A+V+VP			60	7%	114	29%			0		2	100%
N_A+V+N_P+VP			58	7%	211	54%	9	100%	4	100%	0	
N_A+V+N_P+Wh-VP					0							
N_P+ bei N_A+V+VP			1	0%								
N_A+ dui N+V+VP			3	0%							0	
dui N+You N+V+VP			1	0%								
you N+V+N_P+VP			22	2%								
N_A+ dui N+V+ N	0											
N_A+ xiang N+V+VP					8	2%					0	
N_A+ xiang N+V+ N					0							
N_A+ dui N+V+Quote											0	
N_A+xiang N+V+ Quote					0						0	
Total	1794	100%	871	100%	388	100%	9	100%	4	100%	2	100%

Notably most Chinese directive SAVs under investigation occurred with considerably less valency sentence patterns than their identified patterns as highlighted in green in Table 6-11. Considerable variation in the valency pattern distributions is found among the eight Chinese directive SAVs. In the corpus, the three verbs *xialing*, *zecheng* and *zhiling* have the fewest number of patterns, whereas *zeling* with ten observed valency patterns has the most versatile syntactic environment in the corpus.

The six Chinese directive SAVs seem to have different preferred syntactic environments in the corpus which distinguish them from each other. As can be seen from Table 6-11, in the comparable corpus only one realization form of the object is possible for the verb *xialing*: a verbal phrase in the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+VP>, which distinguishes it from its synonyms. *Zhiling* and *zecheng* occurred only with the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P +VP> in the corpus. *Yaoqiu* is found to occur predominantly with the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P +VP> with 54%. *Guiding* shows strong preference for the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, with 73% of all occurrences, whereas for *zeling* the divalent valency pattern with a verbal phrase in object position <you N+V+VP> is notably more common with 59% of all occurrences. The verb *guiding* rarely occurred with a verbal phrase, whereas the object complements of all other seven verbs presented in Table 6-11 are always realized by a verbal phrase, thus distinguishing *guiding* from the other verbs.

Furthermore, *zeling* and *guiding* occurred frequently with prepositional complements '*you*' preceding them, whereas the corpus had no occurrences of valency sentence patterns with prepositional complements '*you*' for *xialing*, *zhiling*, *zecheng* and *yaoqiu*. *Zeling* also occurred with the prepositional complement introduced by the preposition '*dui*', but the occurrence is extremely rare. The prepositional complements '*xiang*' and '*bei*' are specific to *yaoqiu*.

(5) A comparison of the observed valency sentence patterns for a group of English SAVs and their closest counterparts in Chinese from the comparable corpus has shown considerable differences in frequencies and distributions of valency sentence patterns between English and Chinese directive SAVs under investigation.

Some examined English and Chinese SAVs were exceedingly rare, such as *instruct*, *xialing*, *zhiling* and *zecheng*, while some verbs occurred much more frequently, particularly *require* and *guiding*. The higher rate of use of *require* and *guiding* in conjunction with the lower rate of use of *instruct*, *xialing*, *zhiling* and *zecheng* is mainly the result of the discourse factors of written legislative texts and the production needs of lawmakers. As discussed in Section 2.6 above, legislation depends upon the normative nature of language in achieving its purpose of regulating human behaviour and society. Directive SAVs used in the legislative texts are not just words that the lawmakers use to

say things, but also actions – using words to get people to do something (Cao, 2007). Since legislative texts are characterized by directives, which are future-oriented speech acts, seeking to impose obligations, prescribe prohibition and grant permission (Cao, 2007), *require* and *guiding*, which are compatible with the notion "you have to do it, because it is your obligation to do it on this particular occasion" (see Wierzbicka, 1987), are more likely to be used in legislative texts to setting out obligation, prohibition and permission.

It seems that there are large differences in the valency complementation patterns between English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts, such as verbal complements, prepositional complements, object complements and passive patterns. The typical realization forms of verbal complements for the English verbs observed in the corpus are *to*-infinitive clause and *to* passive-infinitive clause, while the realization form of verbal complements for the Chinese verbs obtained from the corpus are verb phrases without any preposition preceding the verb phrases. In addition, some Chinese verbs such as *xialing* and *zeling*, took verbal complements as their direct object as in the pattern <N_A+V+VP>, whereas none of the English verbs under investigation occurred in such pattern with verbal complements directly following them in the corpus.

Furthermore, English directive SAVs displayed preference for *that*-clause complements which function as the object of the main verb <N_A+V+that-clause>. However, in Chinese there is no equivalent structure. Some of the examined Chinese directive SAVs can occur with a verbal clause directly following them, such as *guiding* and *xialing*, but no subordinate conjunction such as 'that' is required. Despite the difference in infinitive verbal structures and *that*-clause structures between English and Chinese directive SAVs, it would not pose big problems in translation, as these structures in English and Chinese are to a large extent similar in their semantic meaning and function in creating illocutionary forces in legislative texts.

Another interesting difference between the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs is the structure of their prepositional complements. As a group, the Chinese directive SAVs under investigation appeared to have occurred dramatically more frequently with prepositional complements than the English directive SAVs did in the corpus. For individual verbs, as shown in

Table 6-8, *require* is the only verb found to be used with prepositional complements in the corpus, but the use is very rare, with 2% of all its occurrences. By contrast the three Chinese verbs *zeling*, *yaoqiu* and *guiding* were found to occur with prepositional complements and their use of prepositional complements was relatively higher in frequency than *require*. Furthermore, the corpus had in total nine different valency patterns consisting of four types of prepositional complements: '*dui*', '*xiang*', '*bei*' and '*you*' for Chinese directive SAVs, whereas the corpus had only two types of prepositional complements for the examined English directive SAVs: 'of and 'for'. An explanation for this difference between English and Chinese directive SAVs is given by the function of prepositions in legislative texts and involves the differences in the grammars of the two languages, such as tense.

Notably, passive structures were considerably frequent for the English directive SAVs in the English legislative texts, while all examined Chinese SAVs only occurred in active structures in Chinese legislative texts. For *prescribe*, *require* and *demand*, the passive voice is dominant in the corpus, which expresses a stylistic choice to give an impression of objectivity and distance to the readers. However, no passive structures were observed for Chinese directive SAVs. Chinese verbs were found to be used with active form to express passive meaning. This is mainly because Chinese is a language without voice category. The grammatical relationship is conveyed by verb inflections in English, but Chinese is an uninflected language and the grammatical relationship is always expressed by means of lexical devices, word order, function word, and shared understanding of the context. When Chinese directive SAVs express passive sense, there is a clear subjective tendency by using active voice. Such syntactic difference between English and Chinese directive SAVs poses difficulties for the translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese. When rendering an English passive structure by a Chinese active structure, the focus of the message may change.

The translator should bear this in mind and find the appropriate structure in target language to convey equivalent meaning and produce equivalent legal force. It is suggested that translators should make it clear that sentences expressing passive meaning with active forms are common in Chinese but are rather limited in number and less frequently used in English (Wang & Li, 2007). In Chinese, the focus is always at the end of the sentences while in English the important

information is normally placed on the start. Thus, translator should be careful with the superficial forms of the two languages and grasp the deep logical relation between the subject and the directive SAV through analysis and then transfer it according to the syntactic patterns of the target language (Wang & Li, 2007).

One prominent syntactic feature of the directive Chinese SAVs is that they are typically used in active structures with the subject complement being omitted when semantically it is unnecessary to mention the agent of the action, and when the agent is not important, or can be inferred from the context or is unknown. However, by contrast, the examined English directive SAVs could not occur in the patterns with the subject complement being omitted in an active clause. As pointed out earlier, the subject or the agent of the English directive SAVs were frequently omitted only in passive structures. Thus, Chinese and English apply different syntactic structures to de-focus the agent of the action.

We can consider with reservation that one main reason underlying the syntactic difference between English and Chinese is the different thinking patterns between Chinese and English. Western philosophy accentuates opposition, while Chinese philosophy emphasizes harmony and regards human beings and nature as a whole (Guan, 2000). Such thinking patterns deeply influence and shape the social structures and the meaning construction in social discourse. According to Guan (2000, p. 41) "[t]he distance between the Chinese symbol and referent is nearer than the distance between the English symbol and referent" and accordingly "English distinguish between subjects and objects more clearly than Chinese". That is the reason why English sentences must have both subjects and predicates, whereas in Chinese sentences either subjects or predicates can be removed.

Another possible interpretation is that Chinese is a "high context language" in which the meanings of sentences rely heavily on their context while English is a "low context language" in which the meaning is conveyed in the explicit code (Hall, 1991). As Fan (1991) argues, a whole-parts tendency is promoted in Chinese thinking and thus people usually try to understand a text as a whole at first and then to look at the smaller units of meaning. Therefore, different thinking patterns

preferred by English and Chinese are an important factor in social interaction through which meaning is constructed and mediated by the use of language.

6.6 Summary

The comparable corpus in this study, consisting of English and Chinese legislative texts, is specialized and genre-specific, and so it reflects the typical usage of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislation discourse. The contrastive analysis of the valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs observed in the comparable corpus finds that there is a great degree of differentiation between English and Chinese directive SAVs regarding semantic components, favoured complement types, valency sentence patterns and syntactic environments in legislative texts. By applying semantic features to the syntactic valency analysis, the distinct patterns of uses of English and Chinese directive SAVs with similar meanings can be distinguished. The research findings suggest that the correlation between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns within each language, as well as the semantic and syntactic differences within and across the two languages, are best explored, described and elaborated using corpus methodology as the finer distinction of meaning between strikingly semantically similar SAVs can only be disclosed by analyzing their usage in actual discourse, including their frequencies, collocational profiles and contextual information.

7 VALENCY ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND CHINESE DIRECTIVE SAVS IN THE PARALLEL CORPUS

7.1 Introduction

Having identified and compared the valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in terms of their frequencies and distributions in the comparable corpus of English and Chinese legislative texts (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), it is now possible to explore whether these are linked to the choice of translation equivalents, through a contrastive study. The bilingual parallel corpus will be used for this investigation.

As a first step, all the translation equivalents for the examined Chinese directive SAVs will be identified and presented in Section 7.2. Through comparing the valency sentence patterns of the examined Chinese directive SAVs and their English translation equivalents, this section will investigate whether the intended legal actions denoted by the examined Chinese directive SAVs are effectively expressed in the translation texts. The gains and losses in transmitting the intended directive speech act from the source texts into English translation texts will be illustrated with empirical examples. Then, based on the data analysis, Section 7.3 will discuss the findings and compare the translation equivalents of the examined Chinese directive SAVs.

7.2 Contrastive analysis of the Chinese directive SAVs and their English translations in the parallel corpus

The examined Chinese directive SAVs were detected by an automated search of the parallel corpus, then a manual analysis was conducted to identify their translation equivalents. Here, the valency sentence patterns of the Chinese directive SAVs observed in the parallel corpus will be analyzed individually along with their translation equivalents and then analyzed in group due to their close sematic meanings.

7.2.1 Valency analysis of *yaoqiu* and the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus

According to the bilingual dictionaries, the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* include *demand*, *require*, *claim*, *request* and *ask for*. In this section, I will also investigate whether individual valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* show any preferences for certain English translation equivalents and preferences for certain valency sentence patterns, and whether translations are reversible.

7.2.1.1 Translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* identified in the parallel corpus

A wide range of translation equivalents for *yaoqiu* were observed within the 388 instances of English translation of *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus. In total, 16 different translation possibilities were identified, including verbs, nouns and no translation. Eleven verbs were identified as the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus: *require*, *demand*, *claim*, *ask for*, *ask to*, *order*, *invite*, *suggest*, *call for*, *wish* and *intend*. There is an overlap between the translation equivalents found in the parallel corpus and those found in bilingual dictionaries, and the translation equivalents with high frequencies of occurrence in the corpus are all listed in the dictionaries. But the corpus findings show considerably more translation possibilities than bilingual dictionaries do. The verbs *ask to*, *order*, *invite*, *suggest*, *call for*, *wish* and *intend* that occurred in the corpus as translation equivalents are not listed in the dictionaries. These translation possibilities for *yaoqiu* are shown in order of frequency in Table 7-1.

However, the translation equivalents *invite*, *suggest*, *call for*, *wish* and *intend* only occurred once in the parallel corpus, which suggests that it is not common to use these verbs as translation equivalents for *yaoqiu*, and their occurrences are more likely to be based on personal, creative preferences of the translators. Such translation equivalents, i.e. those with only one incident, are viewed as chance occurrences and thus are considered not relevant. Only the translation equivalents with more than one occurrence are considered relevant and are highlighted in grey in Table 7-1.

This leaves ten relevant translation possibilities for the verb *yaoqiu*, comprising verbs, nouns and no translation.

Table 7-1 Translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* identified in the parallel corpus

Translation equivalents		Valency sentence patterns	Occurrences	Total	Percentage
Verbs	**require**	N_A+require+N_P+to-INF	107	140	36%
		N_A+require+N_P	9		
		N_A+require+N_P+to passive-INF	6		
		N_A+require+that-clause	6		
		require+N_P+to-INF	5		
		require+N_P+to passive INF	4		
		require+to-INF	2		
		require+N_P	1		
	request	N_A+request+N_P+to-INF	34	72	19%
		N_A+request+N_P	21		
		N_A+request+to-INF	10		
		N_A+request+that-clause	3		
		N_A+request+to passive-INF	1		
		N_A+request for+N_P	1		
		N_A+request+N_P+for N	1		
		N_A+request+N_P+to passive-INF	1		
	demand	N_A+demand+that-clause	29	71	19%
		N_A+demand+N_P	28		
		N_A+demand+N_P+to-INF	8		
		demand+N_P	3		
		N_A+demand+N_P+from N	2		
		demand+N_P+from N	1		
	claim	claim+N_P	15	34	9%
		N_A+claim+N_P	14		
		N_A+claim+N_P from N	5		
	ask	N_A+ask+N_P+to-INF	16	20	5%
		N_A+ask+to-INF	2		
		N_A+ask for+N_P	2		
	order	N_A+order+N_P+to-INF	3	4	1%
		order+N_P+to-INF	1		
	invite	N_A+invite+N_P+to-INF	1	1	0%
	suggest	N_A+suggest to+N_P+that-clause	1	1	0%
	call for	N_A+call for+N_P	1	1	0%
	wish	N_A+wish+to-INF	1	1	0%
	intend	N_P is intended	1	1	0%
No translation			25	25	7%
Others	**Nouns**	Request	13	17	4%
		Claim	2		
		Requirement	1		
		Application	1		
Total			**388**	**388**	**100%**

Table 7-1 shows that as high as 89% of all occurrences of *yaoqiu* are translated as verbs. The most frequent translation equivalent for *yaoqiu* is *require* accounting for 36% of all instances in the parallel corpus, followed by *request* and *demand* each with 19% of all occurrences. *Claim*, *ask* and *order* are less frequently used as translation equivalents for *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus. As this study focuses on English and Chinese directive SAVs, the further discussion will focus on the translation equivalents that are directive SAVs: *require*, *request*, *demand*, *claim*, *ask* and *order*.

There are similarities between *yaoqiu* and these translation equivalents of *yaoqiu*, as well as interesting differences. As discussed in Section 5.2.2.2, the person who *yaoqiu* is expressing his desire and wants to cause the addressee to fulfil his desire. Thus, *yaoqiu* is an attempt to cause the addressee to cause something to happen. To that extent, *yaoqiu* is similar to *require*, *demand* and *request* which also, in essence, are concerned with causing something to happen.

But *yaoqiu* differs from *require* in lacking the element of obligation (Wierzbicka, 1987). According to Wierzbicka (1987, p. 47), *require* implies that "the addressee has to do the thing that on that particular occasion the speaker wants him to do, but this obligation doesn't apply to other things that the speaker may want the addressee to do". Although the person who *yaoqiu* also assumes that the addressee has to do what the speaker wants him to do, the grounds for this assumption are different from *require*. The speaker anticipates that the addressee will comply with his wish or desire, because he has right or a good reason to obtain what he wants, which makes *yaoqiu* more akin to *demand*.

Demand also implies "that the speaker has the right to obtain what he wants, that justice is on his side" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 40). The most obvious difference between *yaoqiu* and *demand* has to do with the focus of each verb: as the syntax of the two verbs suggests, *yaoqiu* focuses on both the addressee and the action; *demand* focuses on the action, not so much on the addressee (Wierzbicka, 1987). For *yaoqiu* the addressee or the desired action can be given the status of the direct object, whereas *demand* cannot take the addressee as its direct object.

Similarly, *yaoqiu* also differs from *request* in its syntax: one can *yaoqiu* someone do something in Chinese, but one usually does not *request* someone to do something in English, because the focus

of *request* is on “the desired state of affairs rather than on the addressee’s action” (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 51) (e.g. ‘I requested an appointment’). When taking an object, it is more preferable for *request* to take plural object and be used in the passive (Wierzbicka, 1987) (e.g. ‘their records have been requested’). The syntactic differences between these two verbs suggest that *request* is more impersonal and formal than *yaoqiu*. Furthermore, *request* is more polite than *yaoqiu* and expresses a weaker forcefulness.

As to the valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus, a wide range of valency sentence patterns of *require*, *request* and *demand* are observed. The corpus shows eight different valency sentence patterns for *require*, such as Examples (71) and (72), eight different valency sentence patterns for *request*, as in Examples (73) and (74), and six different patterns for *demand*, as in Examples (75) and (75).

71) 违反 本 条例 规定， <u>要求</u> [企业] [提供 部分 或者 全部 财务 会计
weifan ben tiaoli guiding <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*qiye*] [*tigong bufen huozhe quanbu caiwu kuaiji*
violate this regulation provision <u>require</u> enterprise provide part or all financial accounting
报告 及 其 有关 数据] 的， 企业 有权 拒绝。
baogao ji qi youguan shuju] *de qiye youquan jujue*
report and its relevant data PAR enterprise has right refuse

71t) If [an organization or individual] <u>requires</u> [the enterprise] [to tender some or all financial accounting reports and relevant data] in violation of the provisions of these Regulations, the enterprise concerned is entitled to refuse it.

71b) [it] requires [them/it] [*to*-infinitive clause]

72) [执行 事务 合伙人] 可以 <u>要求</u> 在 合伙 协议中 [确定 执行 事务 的
[*zhixing shiwu hehuoren*] *keyi* <u>*yaoqiu*</u> *zai hehuo xieyizhong* [*queding zhixing shiwu de*
[Managing affair partner] may <u>require</u> in partnership agreement [specify execution affair PAR
报酬 及 报酬 提取 方式]。
baochou ji baochou tiqu fangshi]
remuneration and remuneration collect way]

72t) [The managing partners] may <u>require</u> [that the remuneration for execution of the affairs and the way of making such remuneration be specified in the partnership agreement].

72b) [they] require [*that*-clause]

73) 股东 因 对 股东 大会 作出 的 公司 合并、 分立 决议
gudong yin dui gudong dahui zuochu de gongsi hebing, fenli jueyi
Shareholder because to general meeting make PAR company merge division resolution
持 异议, 要求 [公司] [收购 其 股份] 的。
chi yiyi yaoiu [*gongsi*] [*shougou qi gufen*] *de*
have objection request [company] [acquire its share] PAR

73t) [Any shareholder of the company] raises objections to a resolution made by the general meeting on the merger or division of the company, and therefore requests [the company] [to acquire its holdings of shares].

73b) [he/she] requests [them/it] [*to*-infinitive clause]

74) [申请人] 要求 [将 所述部分] [作为 审查 基础]
[*shenqingren*] *yaoqiu* [*jiang suoshu bufen*] [*zuowei shencha jichu*]
[applicant] request [with said part] [be examination basis]

74t) the applicant requests that the said parts be the basis of examination,

74b) [he/she] requests [*that*-clause]

75) [保险人] 对 人寿 保险 的 保险费, 不得 用 诉讼 方式
[*baoxianren*] *dui renshou baoxian de baoxianfei bude yong susong fangshi*
[Insurer] to life insurance PAR premium shall not use legal proceeding method
要求 [投保人] [支付]。
yaoqiu [*toubaoren*] [*zhifu*]
demand [policy holder] [pay]

75t) The insurer shall not resort to legal proceedings to demand payment by the policy holder of the premiums in respect of insurance of the person.

75b) [he/she] demands [this/it]

76) [撤销权人] 撤销 赠与 的, 可以 [向 受赠人] 要求
[*chexiaoquanren*] *chexiao zengyu de, keyi* [*xiang shouzengren*] *yaoqiu*
[Person having revocation right] rescind donation PAR may [to donee] demand
[返还 赠与 的 财产]。
[*fanhuan zengyu de caichan*]
[return donated PAR property]

76t) If a donation is rescinded, [the person having the right to rescind] may demand [that the donee return the donated property].

76b) [he/she] demands [*that*-clause]

Require and *request* are found to occur predominantly with the trivalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, such as Examples (71) and (73), while *demand* occurred frequently in two divalent sentence patterns <N_A+V+N_P>, as in Example (75), and <N_A+V+that-clause> in Example (76).

As can be seen in Table 7-1, 9% of all 388 occurrences of *yaoqiu* were translated into *claim*, which always occurred with direct objects, as in Example (77).

77) [外观 设计 专利 申请 的 申请人] 要求 [外国 优先权], …
[*waiguan sheji zhuanli shenqing de shenqingren*] *yaoqiu* [*waiguo youxianquan*]
[Appearance design patent application PAR applicant] demand [foreign priority right]
77t) When [an applicant for a design patent application] claims [the foreign priority right],…
77b) [he/she] claims [this/it]

To *claim* something means saying that the speaker has right to have something. It is similar to *yaoqiu* something in that the speaker wants to "cause other people to think that this is right and to be willing to do something because of that" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 326). Like *yaoqiu*, *claim* is also self-assured, and the speaker is confident about the effectiveness of his speech act (Wierzbicka, 1987). However, *claim* is more forceful than *yaoqiu*, because the person who *claims* something also "verbally assert his right to it" with an implication of success of his speech act (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 326). The semantic meaning of *claim* is reflected in its syntax: one can say 'I claim something', but cannot say 'I claim someone to do something'. However, *yaoqiu* can occur in a variety of syntactic patterns such as 'someone *yaoqiu* something', 'someone *yaoqiu* somebody do something' and 'someone *yaoqiu* do something'.

Twenty occurrences of *yaoqiu* were translated into the English SAV *ask*. The translation equivalent *ask* has a similar illocutionary purpose as *yaoqiu*: "I say this because I want to cause you to do it" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 50). However, *yaoqiu* differs from *ask* in a number of respects. *Yaoqiu* does not assume any hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee. One can *yaoqiu* his subordinates do something, but also *yaoqiu* his equals or superiors. The person who *yaoqiu* anticipates that the addressee has to do what he wants him to do in that particular circumstance, because he has right or a good reason to cause him to do it, whereas *ask* has no such implication. Furthermore, *yaoqiu* implies that the speaker is relatively confident with the outcome, whereas *ask* implies an uncertainty to the outcome. *Ask* also differs from *yaoqiu* in its informal character. Thus, *ask* is often used as the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in informal or oral texts.

It is notable that in the parallel corpus 20 occurrences of *yaoqiu* were translated into *ask*, as no occurrences were observed for the English verb *ask* in the corpus of original English legal texts.

This indicates a difference between English as original language and English as translated language in legal discourse. *Ask* is a "modest, polite, unassuming speech act" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 50) and the speaker does not know whether the addressee will do it. As indicated by the empirical data from the corpus of the original English legislative texts, *ask* is unlikely to be used in legislative texts which is characterized by the normative and performative nature of language in achieving the purpose of setting out obligations and regulating human behaviour by merely stating words. In addition, *ask* is personal and informal, which is inconsistent with the impersonal and formal style of written legislative texts. This suggests that linguistic differences in English and Chinese written legislative texts are a major source of difficulty in legal translation.

The English directive SAV *order* is usually not treated as a translation equivalent for *yaoqiu*. It is true that *yaoqiu* is similar to *order* in its implied expectation that the addressee has to do what the speaker wants him to do, but it differs considerably in meaning from *order*. For one thing, *order* presupposes a superior power or authority over the addressee and assumes that "the addressee has to do whatever he says he wants him to do" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 40). But *yaoqiu* does not assume a hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee. What the speaker expects is that his desire has to be fulfilled in that particular case because he has right or good reason to cause the addressee to carry out the desired action.

My results also show that the verb *yaoqiu* is not always translated as a verb, but that its meaning in English can be expressed with a noun such as 'claim', 'request', 'requirement' and 'application', as in Examples (78) and (79).

78) [患者] 要求 [查阅、复制 前款 规定 的 病历 资料] 的,
[*huanzhe*] *yaoqiu* [*chayu, fuzhi* *qiankuan* *guiding* *de* *bingli* *ziliao*] *de*
[patient] demand [access duplicate preceding stipulation PAR medical record] PAR
医疗 机构 应当 提供。
yiliao *jigou* *yingdang* *tigong*
medical institution shall provide

78t) Medical institutions shall accede to the requests of their patients to access and duplicate the medical records specified in the preceding paragraph.

79) 同一 投标人 提交 两个 以上 不同 的 投标 文件 或者 投标 报价,
tongyi toubiaoren tijiao liangge yishang butong de toubiao wenjian huozhe toubiao baojia
same bidder submit two more different PAR bid documents or bid quotation
但 [招标 文件] <u>要求</u> [提交 备选 投标] 的 除外;
dan [*zhaobiao wenjian*] <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*tijiao beixuan toubiao*] *de chuwai*
but [tender document] <u>require</u> [submit alternative bid] PAR except

79t) The same bidder submits two or more sets of different bid documents or bid quotations, except for the alternative bids submitted in accordance with the <u>requirements</u> of the tender documents;

As illustrated in Table 7-1, in the English translations only 4% of all occurrences of *yaoqiu* were translated as a noun. Although the semantic meaning is faithfully conveyed by the noun or noun phrase in English translation texts, the legal effect created by stating the original directive SAV is largely changed, as the nominalized realizations lead to a loss of the illocutionary act and legal force denoted by *yaoqiu*.

There are 26 occurrences where the Chinese verb *yaoqiu* is omitted in the translation and no other translation equivalents could be identified in the text, such as Examples (80) and (81). These occurrences are categorized as 'no translation'.

80) 对 <u>要求</u> [审查 董事、 监事、 境内 分支机构 负责人
dui <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*shencha dongshi jianshi jingnei fenzhi jigou fuzeren*
For demand [examine director supervisor within the country branch person in charge
任职 资格] 的 申请, …
renzhi zige] *de shenqing*
service qualification] PAR application

80t) <u>application for examining the qualifications of directors, supervisors, and heads of branches within China</u>, …

81) [国务院 专利 行政 部门] 对 发明 专利 申请 进行
[*guowuyuan zhuanli xingzheng bumen*] *dui faming zhuanli shenqing jinxing*
[State Council patent administration department] to invention patent application make
实质 审查 后, 认为 不 符合 本法 规定 的, 应当 通知 申请人,
shizhi shencha hou renwei bu fuhe ben fa guiding de yingdang tongzhi shenqingren
substantive examination after deem not meet this law provision PAR shall notify applicant
<u>要求</u> [其] 在 指定 的 期限 内 [陈述意见] 。
<u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*qi*] *zai zhiding de qixian nei* [*chenshu yijian*]
<u>require</u> [him/her] within specified PAR time limit within [state opinion]

81t) After the Patent Administration Department under the State Council has made the substantive examination in respect to the invention patent application, if it finds that the application does not meet the provisions of this Law, <u>it shall notify the applicant to state its opinions within a specified time limit</u>

The directive SAV *yaoqiu* in Example (80) has the implication that the speaker has the right or good reason to examine the qualifications of directors, supervisors and heads of branches, and he assumes that the utterance carries great force which the addressees are bound to recognize. Therefore, the omission of *yaoqiu* in the translation (80t) not only creates semantic loss, but also leads to distortion of the force carried by *yaoqiu*.

Similarly, in Example (81), *yaoqiu* implies that the Patent Administration Department under the State Council has the power and good reason to get the applicant to do something and the utterance carries great legal force. The Patent Administration Department expects compliance of the applicant upon their recognition and assessment of the legal force. However, this implication and legal force are all missing in the translation.

7.2.1.2 The valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* and the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* observed in the parallel corpus

This sub-section will look at the valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in different types of valency sentence patterns. The translation equivalents will be compared with regard to their possible meaning interpretations. The data from the parallel corpus will show that when *yaoqiu* was translated as a verb, the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* were found to be more likely to occur with the same or similar pattern as *yaoqiu*. It is also observed that *yaoqiu* in different valency sentence patterns has different preferred translation equivalents.

7.2.1.2.1 *Yaoqiu* in monovalent patterns

Yaoqiu was found to occur in two monovalent sentence patterns in the parallel corpus: <V+N> and <V+VP>, with 19 and 14 occurrences respectively. The valency sentence patterns of the English translation equivalents for *yaoqiu* occurring with monovalent sentence patterns are summarized in Table 7-2.

Table 7-2 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in monovalent sentence patterns

Chinese verb *yaoqiu*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
$V+N_P$ (Total number of occurrences: 19)	Monovalent	demand+N_P		1	74%
		claim+N_P	*claim N_P*	5	
			N_P is claimed	8	
	Divalent	N_A+claim+N_P		2	10%
	Others	No translation		3	16%
V+VP (14)	Monovalent	demand+N_P		1	14%
		claim+N_P	*N_P claimed*	1	
	Divalent	require+N_P+*to* passive-INF	*N_P is required to passive-INF*	4	29%
	Others	NP		2	57%
		No translation		6	

According to the corpus data, 84% of occurrences of *yaoqiu* in the monovalent sentence pattern <V+N_P> were translated as a verb, and *yaoqiu* in this pattern shows a preference for the translation equivalent *claim*, occurring with both a monovalent sentence pattern <V+N_P>, as in Example (82), and a divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, as in Example (83).

82) 以 中文 提交 进入 中国 国家 阶段 的 书面 声明, 写明
yi zhongwen tijiao jinru zhongguo guojia jieduan de shumian shengming xieming
With Chinese submit enter Chinese national phase PAR written statement specify
国际 申请 号 和 要求 [获得] 的 专利 权 类型;
guoji shenqing hao he yaoqiu [huode] de zhuanliquan leixing
international application number and claim [obtain] PAR patent right type

82t) Submitting written statements in Chinese for the Chinese phase, and specifying the international application number and the type of [patent right] claimed;

82r) the type of [patent right] that is claimed;

82b) claim [it]

83) 要求 [优先权] 的 申请人 的 姓名 或者 名称 与 在 先 申请
yaoqiu [youxianquan] de shenqingren de xingming huozhe mingcheng yu zai xian shenqing
claim [priority right] PAR applicant PAR name or name with in earlier application
文件 副本 中 记载 的 申请人 姓名 或者 名称 不一致 的,...
wenjian fuben zhong jizai de shenqingren xingming huozhe mingcheng bu yizhi de
document duplicate record PAR applicant name or name inconsistent PAR

83t) Where the name of [the applicant] claiming [the priority right] is inconsistent with the name of the applicant recorded in the duplicates of the documents for the Earlier Application,…

83b) [he/she] claims [it]

Yaoqiu in Example (82) is translated into *claim* in the past participle form which functions as an adjective that modifies the noun “the applicant”. The translation can be rewritten into a subordinate clause in passive tense, as in Example (82r). It can be seen that “the applicant” is the patient upon which the action of *claiming* is carried out. Therefore, the translation is categorized into <V+N_P>. In Example (83), the verbal clause “yaoqiu youxianquan (claim priority right)” acts as the modifier of the noun “applicant” which is the agent of *yaoqiu*. The semantic relation between *yaoqiu* and its agent can be easily retrieved from the context. Such a semantic relationship between the agent and the action is expressed by the verb *claim* in present participle form which also functions as an adjective that describes the agent.

But for the monovalent sentence pattern <V+VP> of *yaoqiu*, 57% of all occurrences were translated as a noun or omitted with no translation, as in Example (84).

84) 要求 [获得 实用 新 型 专利权] 的 国际 申请,...
yaoqiu [*huode shiyong xin xing zhuanli quan*] *de guoji shenqing*
request [obtain utility new model patent] PAR international application
84t) With regard to an international application for a utility model patent, …

Yaoqiu in the original Chinese text implies that the applicant of an international application for a utility model patent has the right or is eligible to obtain what he asks, and the applicant expects his expressed desire to be fulfilled. However, *yaoqiu* is simply omitted in the English translation, as in Example (84t). This leads to a distortion of semantic meaning and loss of the force of the utterance.

When this pattern of *yaoqiu* was translated as with a verb, the verb *require* with the divalent sentence pattern <V+N_P+*to* passive-INF>, as in Example (85), was found to be slightly more frequent than *demand* and *claim*.

85) 要求 [删除 或者 断开 链接 的 侵权 作品、 表演、 录音
yaoqiu [*shanchu huozhe duankai lianjie de qinquan zuopin biaoyan luyin*
Require [delete or disable linked PAR infringing work performance sound recording
录像 制品 的 名称 和 网络 地址];
luxiang zhipin de mingcheng he wangluo dizhi]
video product PAR name and web address]

85t) [The title and Web address of the infringing work, performance, or sound or visual recording that] <u>is required</u> [to be deleted] or to which [the link] <u>is required</u> [to be disabled];

85b) <u>require</u> [these/them] [*to* passive-infinitive clause]

According to the context, the verbal clause in Example (85) "yaoqiu shanchu huozhe duankai lianjie (require delete or disable link)", with the subject missing, functions as a relative clause preceding its head noun "qinquan zuoping, biaoyan, luyin luxiang zhipin (infringing work, performance, sound recording video product)". The modification relationship between the relative clause and its head noun is manifested by the particle '*de*'. '*De*' is used to connect the relative clause and its head noun phrase and is treated as a complementizer or relativizer signifying a relative clause in Chinese (Chen *et al.*, 2012).

The underlined structure denotes that the modified noun phrase is the recipient of *yaoqiu*. Corresponding to this syntactic structure and semantic relation, <require N_P+to passive INF> is chosen in the translation to make the semantic roles clear, as demonstrated in the rewritten sentence (85r). Such word order differences between English and Chinese relative clauses – Chinese relative clauses precede their head nouns, while English relative clauses follow their head nouns (Hsiao & Gibson, 2003) – lead to the increase in the valence in the translation. In terms of legal effect, the translation creates a similar legal force as the original text.

7.2.1.2.2 *Yaoqiu* in divalent patterns

The parallel corpus has 136 occurrences of *yaoqiu* occurring in divalent sentence patterns including <N_A+V+N_P>, <V+N_P+VP> and <N_A+V+VP>, with 16, 6 and 114 occurrences respectively. The valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents for *yaoqiu* in these three patterns are listed in Table 7-3.

Table 7-3 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in divalent sentence patterns

Chinese verb *yaoqiu*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
N_A+V+N_P (16)	Monovalent	demand+N_P	*N_P is demanded*	1	13%
		claim+N_P	*N_P is claimed*	1	
	Divalent	N_A+claim+N_P	*N_A claim N_P*	8	56%
			N_P is claimed by N_A	1	
	Trivalent	N_A+require+N_P+to passive-INF	*N_P is required to passive-INF by N_A*	1	6%
	Others	NP		2	25%
		No translation		2	
V+N_P+VP (6)	Divalent	require+N_P+to-INF	*require N_P to-INF*	1	33%
			N_P is required to-INF	1	
	Trivalent	N_A+require+N_P+to-INF		3	67%
		N_A+order+N_P+to-INF		1	
N_A+V+VP (114)	Monovalent	require+N_P	*N_P is required*	1	3%
		require+to-INF		2	
	Divalent	N_A+request+that-clause		2	71%
		N_A+request for+N_P		1	
		N_A+request+N_P	*N_A request N_P*	16	
			N_P requested by N_A	2	
		N_A+request+to-INF		10	
		N+request+ to passive-INF		1	
		N_A+demand+N_P		23	
		N_A+demand+that-clause		7	
		N_A+require+N_P	*N_A require N_P*	1	
			N_P required by N_A	7	
		N_A+require+that-clause		3	
		N_A+ask for+N_P		2	
		N_A+ask+to-INF		2	
		N_A+call for+N_P		1	
		N_A+claim+N_P		3	
		N_A+wish+to-INF		1	
	Trivalent	N_A+request+N_P+to passive-INF		1	10%
		N_A+request+N_P+to-INF		1	
		N_A+require+N_P+to-INF		3	
		N_A+require+N_P+to passive-INF		5	
		N_A+suggest to+N_P+that-clause		1	
	Others	NP	*request*	10	16%
			requirement	1	
		No Translation		7	

As can be seen in Table 7-3, divalent valency sentence patterns <N_A+V+N_P> of *yaoqiu* show preferences for the translation equivalent of *claim* occurring in a divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, as in Example (86).

86) 申请人要求优先权的，应当在申请的时候提出书面声明，并且在三个月内提交第一次提出的专利申请文件的副本；

[申请人] 要求 [优先权]
[*shenqingren*] *yaoqiu* [*youxianquan*]
[Applicant] claim [priority right]

86t) [An applicant] who claims [the right of priority] shall submit a written declaration at the time of application and submit, within three months, duplicates of the patent application documents filed for the first time.

86b) [He/She] claims [it].

The six occurrences of divalent patterns of *yaoqiu* with a verbal complement <V+N_P+VP> were translated into *require* (83% of all occurrences) and *order* (17%), both with *to*-infinitive clause complements. When the agent of the action can be retrieved from the context and is considered important, it is explicitly mentioned in the translation. In such cases, the translation equivalents were found to occur in trivalent sentence patterns <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>. However, when the agent is not the focus and does not need to be mentioned, the divalent sentence pattern <V+N_P+to-INF>, which is the equivalent pattern of the original, is preferred, as shown in Example (87).

87) 需要 开庭 审理 的，通过 要求 [当事人] [交换 证据] 等 方式，
xuyao kaiting shenli de *tongguo* *yaoqiu* [*dangshiren*] [*jiaohuan zhengju*] *deng* *fangshi*,
need court session PAR through require [the parties] [swap evidence and other means]
明确 争议 焦点。
mingque zhengyi *jiaodian*
clarify dispute focus

87t) where a court session is needed, the focus of the dispute may be clarified through requiring [the parties concerned] [to swap evidence or by other means].

87b) require [them] [*to*-infinitive clause]

In the original, the structure '*yaoqiu*+N_P+*to*-infinitive' focuses on the desired action performed by the addressee and the person who wants to cause such action to happen is not stressed. Thus, in translating, the translator has chosen not to mention the agent of *yaoqiu*.

Yaoqiu occurred frequently in the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+VP> in the parallel corpus, and *yaoqiu* in this pattern showed preferences for the translation equivalents of *request*, *demand* and *require*. These three translation equivalents occurred, in the parallel corpus, mainly in the divalent valency sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, as in Examples (88) and (89), and occurred much less frequently in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+that-clause>, as in Example (90).

88) 记载 有 遗漏 或者 差错 的， [被询问人] 可以 要求 [补充
jizai you yilou huozhe chacuo de, bei xuwen ren keyi yaoqiu [buchong
record have omission or mistake PAR [person questioned] may request [supplement
或者 更正]
huozhe gengzheng]
or correct]

88t) In case of any omission or mistake in the transcript, [the person questioned] may request [supplementation or correction].

88b) [He/She] may request [it].

89) 受托人 处理 信托 事务 所 产生 债务， [债权人] 要求 [清偿
shoutuoren chuli xintuo shiwu suo chansheng zhaiwu [zhaiquanren] yaoqiu [qingchang
Trustee handle trust business incurred debt [creditor] demand [repay
该 债务 的；
gai zhaiwu] *de*
this debt] PAR

89t) where [the creditors] demand [repayment of the debts incurred by the trustee in the course of handling trust business];

89b) [They] demand [it]

90) [执行 事务 合伙人] 可以 要求 [在 合伙 协议中 确定 执行 事务
[*zhixing shiwu hehuoren*] *keyi yaoqiu [zai hehuo xieyi zhong queding zhixing shiwu*
[Managing affair partner] may require [in partnership agreement specify execute affair
的 报酬 及 报酬 提取 方式]。
de baochou ji baochou tiqu fangshi]
PAR remuneration and remuneration collection way]

90t) [The managing partners] may require [that the remuneration for execution of the affairs and the way of making such remuneration be specified in the partnership agreement].

90b) [They] may require [*that*-clause]

As can be seen in Example (88), in the original, according to the context, the addressee or the agent of the desired action has certain authority over the speaker, but the speaker assumes that he has good reason to cause the addressee to do the desired action, because he thinks there is omission or mistake in the transcript. As the equivalent of *yaoqiu*, the translator's choice of *request* seems to be accurate and similar in illocutionary force. *Request* implies that the speaker has confidence that the addressee will do what he wants him to do, although he does not assume that the addressee has to do it (Wierzbicka, 1987). Like *yaoqiu*, *request* is formal and self-assured (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 51), but more elaborately polite than *yaoqiu*, which contributes to a precise interpretation in the translation of the formal and hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee and the contextual information in the original.

In Example (89), the context is that the trustee has incurred debts in the course of his handling of the creditor's trust and the creditor has the right to require compensation. The translator chose *demand* as the equivalent to denote the speaker's right to obtain what he wants. It seems that the choice of translation equivalents is influenced by translator's considerations of not only linguistic features, such as semantic meaning and syntactic patterns, but also extralinguistic features including information that is recoverable from the context, power relationship and style.

In terms of the valency sentence patterns, the object of *yaoqiu* is realized by verbal phrases: "buchong huo gengzheng (supplement or correct)" in Example (88) and "qingchang gai zhaiwu (repay this debt)" in Example (89), which indicates that the speaker is expected to cause an action by the addressee. However, the stress on the addressee is, to a certain degree, changed in the translation, in which the object is realized by noun phrases "supplementation and correction" (88t) and "repayment of the debts" (89t). It is true that *request* and *demand* in this pattern are also aimed at an action, but the stress is not so much on the agent of the desired action as on the outcome of the action.

Request and *require* were also found to be used with *to*-infinitive and *to* passive-infinitive complements, such as in Example (91), but this was not the case for *demand*.

91) [信息 主体] 认为 征信 机构 采集、保存、提供 的 信息 存在
[*xinxi zhuti renwei zhengxin jigou caiji baocun tigong de xinxi cunzai*
[information subject believe credit reporting agency collect save provide PAR information exist
错误、遗漏 的, 有权 向 征信机构 或者 信息 提供者 提出
cuowu yilou de youquan xiang zhengxin jigou huozhe xinxi tigongzhe tichu
error omission PAR have right to credit reporting agency or information provider raise
异议, <u>要求</u> [更正]。
yiyi <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*gengzheng*]
objection <u>require</u> [make correction]

91t) [An information subject that believes the information collected, stored or provided by a credit reporting agency contains errors or omissions] is entitled to raise objections to the credit reporting agency or the relevant information provider, and <u>require</u> [the same] [to make corrections].

91a) [He/she] requires [them] [*to*-infinitive clause]

In the original, the person who is supposed to carry out the desired action is omitted, but can be easily retrieved from the context: the credit reporting agency. The translator chose to make an

explication by adding the agent of the desired action: “the same” i.e. the credit reporting agency. Such trivalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> in the translation contributes to its concise and accurate expression.

Notably, around 4% of occurrences of *yaoqiu* in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+VP> were misinterpreted, as illustrated in Examples (92) and (93).

92) 投保人、被保险人未按照约定履行其对保险标的的安全应尽责任的,保险人有权要求增加保险费或者解除合同。

[保险人] 有权 要求 [增加 保险费 或者 解除 合同]
[*baoxianren*] *youquan* *yaoqiu* [*zengjia baoxianfei huozhe jiechu hetong*]
[insurer] have right require [increase premium or terminate contract]

92t) In the event that a policy holder or insured fails to fulfil his/her contractual obligations to ensure the safety of the subject insured, [the insurer] has the right to ask for [an increase in the premium] or terminate the contract.

92b) [He/she] askes for [it]

93) [国家工作人员]利用职务便利, 以直接或者间接、明示或者暗示等任何方式非法干涉招标投标活动, 有下列情形之一的, 依法给予记过或者记大过处分;情节严重的, 依法给予降级或者撤职处分;情节特别严重的, 依法给予开除处分;构成犯罪的, 依法追究刑事责任:
(一)要求[对依法必须进行招标的项目不招标], 或者要求[对依法应当公开招标的项目不公开招标];

[国家工作人员] 要求 [对 依法 必须 进行 招标 的 项目
[*guojia gongzuo renyuan*] *yaoqiu* [*dui yifa bixu jinxing zhaobiao de xiangmu*
[state civil servants] require [to according to law must undertake bidding PAR project
不 招标],
bu zhaobiao]
not call for tender]

93t) If civil servants illegally interfere with tender and bidding activities directly or indirectly in an explicit or implicit or any other manner by taking advantage of their powers, they shall be punished by way of the record of a demerit or the record of a major demerit in accordance with the law in any of the following situations. If the case is serious, they shall be punished by way of demotion or dismissal in accordance with the law. If the case is particularly serious, they shall be punished by way of removal from office in accordance with the law. If a criminal offense is constituted, the criminal liability shall be imposed in accordance with the law.
(1) Require [not to launch tender for a project that requires bidding processes] according to law or require not to launch open tender for a project that requires open tender according to law;

With regard to “ask for” as the translation equivalent of *yaoqiu* in Example (92), “the right to ask for” surely conveys the power behind *yaoqiu*. The implied meaning in context is that the asking must be met with action so long as the asker has the right, under this legislation, to ask. The insured

person cannot really say ‘I refuse what you ask’. However, *ask for* is potentially modest, polite and implies an uncertainty to the outcome (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 50), while *yaoqiu* is more forceful and self-assured in the original with the implication that the speaker expects compliance with his expressed wishes. Furthermore, the translation equivalent *ask for* is personal and informal, which is inconsistent with the formal and impersonal style of the written legislative texts in English.

In Example (93), the prepositional phrase ‘*dui*’ following *yaoqiu* is treated as a prepositional complement of the Chinese verb “zhaobiao (call for tender)” rather than of *yaoqiu*, as it introduces the thing for which tenders are invited and thus it functions semantically as the recipient of ‘*zhaobiao*’. Thus, the prepositional phrase ‘*dui*’ forms part of the verbal complement of *yaoqiu*. However, as can be seen in Example (93t), *yaoqiu* in this divalent sentence pattern was translated as *require* in the monovalent pattern <V+to-INF> which is not grammatically correct or idiomatic, as *require* cannot occur with a *to*-infinitive verb phrase directly following it.

In addition, the omission of the agent “guojia gongzuo renyuan (state civil servants)” causes incompleteness of semantic meaning in the translation texts. In the original Chinese texts, the agent for *yaoqiu* is explicitly denoted by the underlined structure: “you xialie qingxing zhi yi de (do any of the following)”, clearly indicating that the agent for *yaoqiu* is the “guojia gongzuo renyuan (state civil servants)” mentioned earlier in the same sentence. However, “you xialie qingxing zhi yi de (do any of the following)” is literally translated as “in any of the following situations” and the part of the sentence with *yaoqiu* is translated as a separate sentence, which results in difficulty in retrieving the agent of *yaoqiu* in the English translation. Such translation problems might be partly due to the incompetent language knowledge about valency properties of the English verb *require* and differences in linguistic features between English and Chinese legal languages. The negative influence of the valency sentence patterns of the verb *yaoqiu* in Chinese original texts might be another factor that causes this translation problem. The following revised translation is suggested as a proper translation of the original texts.

93r) If civil servants illegally interfere with tender and bidding activities directly or indirectly in an explicit or implicit or any other manner by taking advantage of their powers and do any of following:
(1) require [that tender for a project that requires bidding processes according to law is not to be launched or that open tender for a project that requires open tender according to law is not to be launched];
they shall be
(a) punished by way of the record of a demerit or the record of a major demerit in accordance with the law;
(b) punished by way of demotion or dismissal in accordance with the law, if the case is serious;
(c) punished by way of removal from office in accordance with the law, if the case is particularly serious; or
(d) prosecuted for criminal liability in accordance with the law if the case constitutes a crime.

Given that the doer of an action is typically the topic of discussion and the recipient is omitted in the original text, there is less need to emphasize the recipient of the action and thus *yaoqiu* is translated as *require* followed by a passive relative clause that functions as the object of *require*.

Request was also found to occur with *to*-infinitive clauses as in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+to-INF>, such as in Example (94).

94) [申请人] 要求 [以 已经 修改 的 申请 文件 为 基础 进行 审查]
[*shenqingren*] *yaoqiu* [*yi* *yijing* *xiugai* *de* *shenqing* *wenjian* *wei* *jichu* *jinxing* *shencha*]
[applicant] request [with already amended PAR application document as basis undertake examination]
94t) [the applicant] requests [to have the amended application documents as the basis for examination], …
94b) [He/She] requests [*to*-infinitive clause]

However, *request* with a *to*-infinitive clause directly following it does not express a directive meaning and such usage has, to a certain degree, distorted the meaning of the original text. In the original Chinese text, what the applicant *yaoqiu* is "jinxing shencha (undertake an examination)" rather than having the amended application documents as the basis for examination. The emphasis of the original is on the desired action of undertaking an examination. But in the translation, the stress of *request* is expressed as having the amended application documents as the basis for examination. Thus, the focus is shifted from undertaking an examination in the original to having the amended application documents as the basis in the translation.

95) 患者要求查阅、复制前款规定的病历资料的, 医疗机构应当提供。

［患者］	要求	［查阅、复制	前款	规定	的	病历	资料］	的
[*huanzhe*]	*yaoqiu*	[*chayue fuzhi*	*qiankuan*	*guiding*	*de*	*bingli*	*ziliao*]	*de*
[Patient]	request	[access duplicate preceding paragraph prescribed PAR medical record] PAR						

95t) Medical institutions shall accede to the requests of their patients to access and duplicate the medical records specified in the preceding paragraph.

In this example, the translator chose a nominalized structure ("the requests of their patients to access and duplicate the medical records") corresponding to the original underlined verbal clausal structure. This nominalized structure (95t) may come from the translator's consideration of not repeating "bingli ziliao (medical record)" in the following clause "yiliao jigou yingdang tigong (medical institution shall provide)", as it is clear from the context that what the medical institution shall provide is the medical record referred to in the preceding clause. The use of nominalized structure also makes the syntax of the English text more formal, which is appropriate as formality is a common syntactic feature of legal English (Cao, 2007).

7.2.1.2.3 *Yaoqiu* in trivalent patterns

There are 219 occurrences of *yaoqiu* occurring in trivalent sentence patterns in the parallel corpus. 211 (96%) of these occurred in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> and include a wide range of possible translation equivalents, including *request*, *demand*, *require*, order, *intend*, *ask*, *invite* and *claim*, while the trivalent pattern with the prepositional complement '*xiang*' <N_A+xiang N+V+VP> is much less frequent, with eight occurrences, and uses just two translation equivalents, *demand* and *claim*, as shown in Table 7-4.

Table 7-4 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in trivalent sentence patterns

Chinese verb *yaoqiu*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
N_A+V+N_P+VP (211)	Monovalent	N_P is intended		1	0%
	Divalent	N_A+request+N_P		3	18%
		N_A+request+that-clause		1	
		N_A+demand+N_P	*N_A demand N_P*	4	
			N_P demanded by N_A	1	
		N_A+demand+that-clause		20	
		N_A+require+that-clause		3	
		N_A+require+N_P	*N_P required by N_A*	1	
		require+N_P+to-INF	*N_P is required to-INF*	3	
		order+N_P+to-INF	*N_P is ordered to-INF*	1	
	Trivalent	N_A+request+N_P+to-INF		33	78%
		N_A+request+N_P+for N	*N_P requested for N by N_A*	1	
		N_A+demand+N_P+to-INF		8	
		N_A+demand+N_P+from N		1	
		N_A+require+N_P+to-INF		101	
		N_A+order+N_P+to-INF		2	
		N_A+ask+N_P+to-INF		16	
		N_A+invite+N_P+to-INF		1	
		N_A+claim+N_P from N		1	
	Others	NP	*request*	2	4%
		Not translated		7	
N_A+ xiang N+V+VP (8)	Divalent	demand+N_P+from N	*N_P may be demanded from N*	1	37%
		N_A+demand+that-clause		2	
	Trivalent	N_A+demand+N_P+from N		1	63%
		N_A+claim+N_P+from N		4	

Table 7-4 shows that the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> is quite prominent for *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus. Roughly 51% of the 211 occurrences of *yaoqiu* in this pattern use the translation equivalent *require*; *require* has 108 occurrences of which 101 (94%) occurred within the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, as shown in Example (96).

96) [国务院 专利 行政 部门] 可以 <u>要求</u> [申请人] 在 指定
[*guowuyuan zhuanli xingzheng bumen*] *keyi* <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*shenqingren*] *zai zhiding*
[State council patent administration department] may <u>require</u> [applicant] in specified
期限 内 [提交 该 国 为 审查 其 申请 进行 检索 的 资料 或者
qixian nei [*tijiao gai guo wei shencha qi shenqing jinxing jiansuo de ziliao huozhe*
time within [submit this country for examine its application make search PAR material or
审查 结果 的 资料];
shencha jieguo de ziliao]
examination result PAR material]

96t) [the Patent Administration Department under the State Council] may <u>require</u> [the applicant] [to submit within a specified time limit materials concerning any search made for the purpose of examining that application in that foreign country, or materials concerning the results of any examination made in that country].

96b) [They] may require [him/her] [*to*-infinitive clause].

Yaoqiu in the original sentence has three complements: two nominal complements and a verbal complement, as indicated by brackets in Example (96). In the English translation, the same valency structure for the translation equivalent *require* is chosen: two nominal complements and a verbal complement. The only difference is that the verbal complement in the original sentence is realized by a verbal phrase, with the verb not inflected, while the verbal complement in the translation is realized by a verbal phrase with a *to*-infinitive, as in Example (96t). The different realization forms of the verbal complement are due to the different grammatical rules of English and Chinese.

Request and *demand* are also used frequently as translation equivalents for *yaoqiu* in the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> and they both occurred with *to*-infinitive clause complements and *that*-clause complements, as shown in Examples (97) and (98).

97) [任何 单位 和 个人] 在与 金融 机构 建立 业务 关系 或者
[*renhe danwei he geren*] *zai yu jinrong jigou jianli yewu guanxi huozhe*
[Any unit and individual] in with financial institution establish business relationship or
<u>要求</u> [金融 机构] [为 其 提供 一次性 金融 服务] 时，. . . 。
<u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*jinrong jigou*] [*wei qi tigong yicixing jinrong fuwu*] *shi*
<u>request</u> [financial institution] [for them provide one-off financial service] when

97t) When [any unit or individual] establishes a business relationship with a financial institution or <u>requests</u> [a financial institution] [to provide a one-off monetary service], ...

97b) [They/It] requests [it] [*to*-infinitive clause].

98) [对方] 可以 在 履行 期限 届满 之前 <u>要求</u> [其] [承担
[*duifang*] *keyi zai lüxing xianqi jiemn zhiqian* <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*qi*] [*chengdan*
[the other party] may within fulfilment period expiration before <u>demand</u> [him] [bear
违约 责任]。
weiyue zeren]
breach of contract liability]

98t) [the other party] may, before the expiration of the period of fulfilment, <u>demand</u> [that the party in question bear the liability for breach of contract].

98b) [He/She] may demand [*that*-clause].

Request is often used as the translation equivalent of *yaoqiu* when the speaker assumes that the addressee does not have to do whatever is requested. In Example (96), according to the context, it can be seen that the speaker has authority over the addressee and he expects that the addressee has to do the things that the speaker wants him to do. But in Example (97), the speaker does not have any personal authority over the addressee and the addressee does not have an obligation to do what the speaker wants him to do. Thus, in this particular case *request* is chosen to express the speaker's intention to cause the addressee to do something in a more polite and less direct way. Accordingly, *request* in Example (97) creates a less forceful effect than *require* in Example (96). Similarly, as a typical representation of a required action, the *to*-infinitive verbal structure is used in Example (96) to translate the verbal complement of *yaoqiu*.

In Example (98), the original sentence exemplifies one remarkable aspect of *yaoqiu*: the speaker has the right to get the addressee to do the desired action. In the English translation, *demand* is used to concisely indicate this right (see Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 40 on the right of a demander).

In the parallel corpus there are eight occurrences of *yaoqiu* occurring in a trivalent sentence pattern with a prepositional complement preceding it and verbal complement directly following it, <N_A+xiang N+V+VP>. Six (75%) of these are translated as *demand* or *claim* with an object complement (a noun phrase) followed by prepositional complements introduced by 'from', as in Example (99).

99) [受托人] 处理 委托 事务 时 因 不可 归责 于 自己 的 事由 受到
[*shoutuoren*] *chuli* *weituo* *shiwu shi* *yin* *buke* *guize* *yu* *ziji* *de* *shiyou shoudao*
[Agent] handle entrusted affair when due to not attribute to himself PAR reasons suffer
损失 的， 可以 [向 委托人] <u>要求</u> [赔偿 损失]
sunshi *de* *keyi* [*xiang* *weituoren*] <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*peichang* *sunshi*]
loss PAR may [from principal] <u>demand</u> [compensate for loss]

99t) If the agent suffers a loss in handling the entrusted affairs not due to reasons attributable to the agent, [compensation] therefor may <u>be demanded</u> [from the principal].

99a) demand [compensation] [from the principal]

99b) demand [it] [from him/her]

There are two ways of looking at these valency sentence patterns in the translation of *yaoqiu*. On one hand, the prepositional complement '*xiang*' introduces the semantic component of patient or

recipient of an action and the most frequent English translation equivalent is '*from*'. Despite the difference between the prepositional complement '*xiang*' and '*from*' in terms of the different positions – '*xiang*' precedes a main verb while 'from' follows a main verb or an object complement – the syntactic structure with the prepositional complement '*from*' is regarded as the equivalent structure of the '*xiang*' pattern in Chinese, as they represent same semantic meaning and have the same function in the sentence. Thus, it can be stated that in terms of prepositional complements most translation equivalents occurred in equivalent valency sentence structure as *yaoqiu*. On the other hand, when looking at the verbal complements, none of the translation equivalents were found to occur in the same or similar valency sentence structures as *yaoqiu*, as shown in Example (99t).

In the translation, *demand* is used as the translation equivalent of *yaoqiu*. Unlike *yaoqiu*, in the case of *demand*, the agent who is supposed to carry out the desired action cannot be given the status of the direct object, which reflects that the stress of *demand* is much more on the desired action and the outcome of the action than the agent (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 40). These semantic and syntactic features may motivate the translator to choose to nominalize part of the original structure "peichang sunshi (compensate for loss)" and to use passive tense with the ellipsis of the agent of the desired action.

7.2.1.3 Comparison of the valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* in the original texts and the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in the translation texts

This section will compare the valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* with the valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu*. The occurrences of translation equivalents for each type of valency sentence pattern of *yaoqiu* are listed in Table 7-5 in order of similarity to the pattern of *yaoqiu*. The valency patterns that are identical to the patterns of *yaoqiu* are listed first, followed by similar valency patterns. The patterns of the translation equivalents that are barely similar to or completely different from the patterns of *yaoqiu* are categorized as 'other patterns'. The translation equivalents that are nouns and instances of no translation are also included at the bottom of the list. The table shows that the translation equivalents which are most likely to occur are those with the same or equivalent patterns as *yaoqiu*.

Table 7-5 Comparison of valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* with the valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu*

Valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu*	Valency sentence patterns of English translation equivalents	Total	Percentage
$V+N_P$ (19)	$V+N_P$	14	74%
	Other patterns	2	10%
	No translation	3	16%
V+VP (14)	Same or similar patterns	0	0%
	Other patterns	6	43%
	Noun	2	14%
	No translation	6	43%
N_A+V+N_P (16)	N_A+V+N_P	9	56%
	Other patterns	3	18%
	Noun	2	13%
	No translation	2	13%
$V+N_P$+VP (6)	$V+N_P$+to-INF	2	33%
	Other patterns	4	67%
N_A+V+VP (114)	N_A+V+to-INF	17	15%
	Other patterns	79	69%
	Noun	11	10%
	No translation	7	6%
N_A+V+N_P+VP (211)	N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	161	77%
	N_A+V+that-clause	24	11%
	Other patterns	17	8%
	Noun	2	1%
	No translation	7	3%
N_A+ xiang N+V+VP (8)	N_A+V+N_P+from N	5	63%
	Other patterns	3	37%
Total		388	

It can be seen from Table 7-5 that, with the exception of *yaoqiu* in the valency sentence patterns with verbal complements directly following *yaoqiu*, the translation equivalents for *yaoqiu* in all other types of valency sentence patterns predominantly occurred with same or similar valency sentence patterns as *yaoqiu* in the original. By contrast, it appears that when *yaoqiu* occurs with verbal complements directly following it, its translation equivalents in the parallel corpus frequently take certain valency sentence patterns that are different from the patterns in the original.

One possible interpretation of this is that the preferred translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* do not have equivalent valency sentence structures as *yaoqiu*. Alternatively, it could be that the preferred translation equivalents have similar valency sentence structures, but are not used to express

directive meaning. This suggests that whether or not the preferred translation equivalents have equivalent complementation patterns accounts, to a large extent, for the choice of the translation equivalents.

The comparison between different categories of translation equivalents for *yaoqiu* (such as equivalents occurring in the same or different patterns as *yaoqiu*) are presented in Figure 7-1.

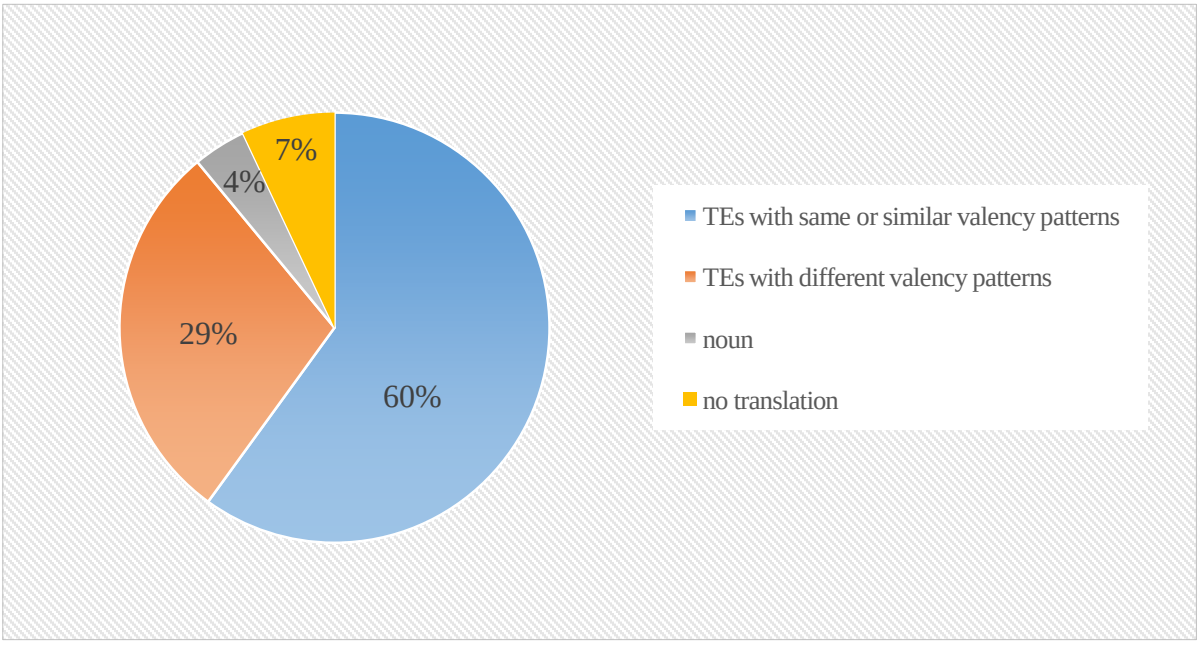

Figure 7-1 Percentage of translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in each category of syntactic structures

As shown in Figure 7-1, 60% of occurrences of *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus were translated as verbs with the same or similar valency sentence patterns as *yaoqiu*, which means the equivalence of valency sentence patterns is more frequent than non-equivalence of valency sentence patterns where *yaoqiu* is translated as a verb, and also that equivalence of valency sentence pattern is considerably more frequent with verb translations than with non-verb translation equivalents. The occurrences of *yaoqiu* which are translated as a verb but which employ different valency sentence patterns from *yaoqiu* comprise 29% of the total occurrences. It is surprising that a relatively high proportion of instances of *yaoqiu* (7%) were omitted in the translation. The smallest slice,

translation equivalents as a noun, represents the least frequent translation possibilities for *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus.

This leads to the hypothesis that *yaoqiu* is more likely to be translated into verbs with the same or similar valency sentence patterns as *yaoqiu* rather than other verbs or non-verbs, particularly when the preferred translation equivalents have equivalent valency sentence structures as *yaoqiu*. In other words, a translation equivalent that requires minimal syntactic change is more likely to be chosen as a translation equivalent.

To further investigate whether the translation equivalents show preferences for certain valency sentence pattern of *yaoqiu*, valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* are analyzed in terms of translation equivalents. The valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* and the most frequent translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* are summarized in Table 7-6. The translation equivalents with just one occurrence, such as *invite*, *suggest*, *call for*, *wish* and *intend*, are not listed.

Table 7-6 Valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* and the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu*

	require	**request**	**demand**	**claim**	**no translation**	**ask**	**noun**	**order**
yaoqiu	**140**	**72**	**71**	**34**	**25**	**20**	**17**	**4**
V+N_P			1%	44%	12%			
V+VP	3%		1%	3%	24%		12%	
N_A+V+N_P	1%		1%	29%	8%		12%	
V+N_P+VP	3%							25%
N_A+V+VP	16%	47%	42%	9%	28%	20%	64%	
N_A+V+N_P+VP	77%	53%	49%	3%	28%	80%	12%	75%
N_A+ xiang N+V+VP			6%	12%				
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

The translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus are shown in order of frequency. The occurrence of a translation equivalent for a valency sentence pattern of *yaoqiu* is depicted in percentages. In order to identify whether valency sentence patterns are an indicator for a chosen translation equivalent, where a translation equivalent uses the valency sentence pattern of *yaoqiu* 30% or more of the time, it is highlighted in yellow, and where the pattern is used in 10% to 30% of the translation equivalents, this is highlighted in blue.

Most importantly, the above investigation has indicated that different valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* have different preferred translation equivalents. The preferred translation equivalents for the monovalent sentence pattern of *yaoqiu* <V+N_P> are *demand* and *claim*. The monovalent sentence pattern <V+VP> and the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P> have the preferred translation equivalents *require*, *demand* and *claim*. The divalent sentence pattern <V+N_P+VP> shows a preference for the translation equivalent *require*.

As shown in Table 7-6, the translation equivalents seem to cluster around two valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu*: <N_A+V+N_P+VP> and <N_A+V+VP>. The most frequent pattern of *yaoqiu* <N_A+V+N_P+VP> occurred with the widest variety of translation equivalents and can be expressed with all six verbs (*require*, *request*, *demand*, *ask*, *claim* and *order*) or with nouns in English. The translation equivalents *require*, *request*, *demand*, *ask* and *order*, which are all directive SAVs, show a strong preference for this trivalent valency sentence pattern of *yaoqiu*. Another frequent pattern <N_A+V+VP> occurred mainly with four directive SAVs in English, *require*, *request*, *demand* and *ask*, as in Examples (100), (101), (102) and (103).

100) 被保险人故意或者因重大过失致使保险人不能行使代位请求赔偿的权利的, 保险人可以扣减或者要求返还相应的保险金。

[保险人] 可以扣减 或者 <u>要求</u> [返还 相应 的 保险金]
[*baoxianren*] *keyi koujian huozhe* <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*fanhuan xiangying de baoxianjin*]
[insurer] may deduct or <u>require</u> [return corresponding PAR premium]

100t) [An insurer] may deduct or <u>require</u> [refund of a corresponding sum from the amount of indemnity]
100b) [He/She] may require [it].

101) [申请人] <u>要求</u> [将所述部分 作为审查 基础]
[*shenqingren*] <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*jiang suoshu bufen zuowei shencha jinchu*]
[applicant] <u>request</u> [use said part as examination basis]

101t) [The applicant] <u>requests</u> [that the said parts be the basis of examination].
101b) [He/She] requests [*that*-clause].

102) 受托人处理信托事务所产生债务，债权人要求清偿该债务的

[债权人] <u>要求</u> [清偿 该 债务] 的；
[*zhaiquanren*] <u>*yaoqiu*</u> [*qingchang gai zhaiwu*] *de*
[creditor] <u>demand</u> [repay this debt] PAR

102t) Where [the creditors] demand [repayment of the debts incurred by the trustee in the course of handling trust business];

102b) [They] demand [it];

103) 投保人、被保险人未按照约定履行其对保险标的的安全应尽责任的, 保险人有权要求增加保险费或者解除合同。

[保险人] 有权 要求 [增加 保险费 或者 解除 合同]。
[*baoxianren*] *youquan* *yaoqiu* [*zengjia baoxianfei huozhe jiechu hetong*]
[insurer] has right demand [increase premium or terminate contract]

103t) [the insurer] has the right to ask for [an increase in the premium or terminate the contract].

103b) [He/she] asks for [it].

These four verbs, particularly *request* and *demand*, show a clear preference for this divalent sentence pattern of *yaoqiu*. Although, as seen in Table 7-6, *yaoqiu* in the patterns <N_A+V+N_P+VP> and <N_A+V+VP> have shared translation equivalents, each of these translation equivalents does not occur in the same valency sentence patterns, but rather correspond to different valency sentence structures for *yaoqiu* in the original. Translation equivalents occurred mainly in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P> where *yaoqiu* in the original appeared in the pattern of <N_A+V+VP>, while translation equivalents prominently occurred in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> where *yaoqiu* originally appeared in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP>.

As the syntactic equivalent in English to the verbal complement in the object position is not commonly used to express a directive meaning, it is not surprising to find out that *yaoqiu* followed by a verbal complement in the object position is frequently omitted or not translated, as demonstrated in Example (104), or it is translated as a noun, as in Example (105).

104) 社会上 要求 [制定 旅游法] 的 呼声 进一步 提高
shehuishang *yaoqiu* [*zhiding lüyoufa]* *de* *husheng* *jinyibu* *tigao*
society request [formulate tourism law] PAR voice further rise

104t) the social voice has risen on formulating the Tourism Law,

105) 患者要求查阅、复制前款规定的病历资料的, 医疗机构应当提供。

［患者］ 要求 ［查阅、复制 前款 规定 的 病历 资料］ 的
[*huanzhe*] *yaoqiu* [*chayue fuzhi* *qiankuan* *guiding* *de* *bingli* *ziliao*] *de*
[Patient] request [access duplicate preceding paragraph prescribed PAR medical record] PAR

105t) Medical institutions shall accede to the requests of their patients to access and duplicate the medical records specified in the preceding paragraph.

Based on the analysis so far, it appears that the semantic meanings of *yaoqiu* in different syntactic patterns are slightly different and there is an affinity between the semantic meaning of *yaoqiu* and its syntactic patterns. This is supported by the study's findings that different valency sentence patterns of a directive SAV have different preferred translation equivalents and even shared translation equivalents show differences in their preferred valency sentence patterns to correspond to the different patterns of the original. One interpretation for these findings is that different syntactic patterns of *yaoqiu* reflect different semantic structures which consequently determine the choice of the translation equivalent. Therefore, the choice of the translation equivalents is to a large extent attributed to the semantic meaning of *yaoqiu* in each type of syntactic pattern. Thus, I argue that the valency sentence patterns of *yaoqiu* are an indication of the most common/preferred choice of a translation equivalent. Furthermore, as the corpus data shows, the translation equivalents with same or similar valency sentence patterns as *yaoqiu* are more likely to be chosen as the translation equivalent. This would suggest that the semantically similar directive SAVs in English and Chinese share one or more valency sentence patterns and shared patterns are likely to reflect shared semantic components.

7.2.2 Valency analysis of *zecheng* and the translation equivalents of *zecheng* in the parallel corpus

The person who '*zecheng* someone to do something' wants the addressee to do it and expects to cause him to do it by the speech act. According to bilingual dictionaries, the translation equivalent of *zecheng* in its directive sense is *instruct*. In this section, I will investigate *zecheng* in actual language use and its interpretation in translation in the parallel corpus.

The parallel corpus has nine occurrences of *zecheng* occurring in only one type of valency sentence pattern, $<N_A+V+N_P+VP>$. Two translation possibilities listed in order of frequency in Table 7-7 were identified.

Table 7-7 Valency sentence patterns of *zecheng* and the translation equivalents of *zecheng* in the parallel corpus

Chinese verb *zecheng*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus			
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**		**Total**	**%**
N_A+V+N_P+VP	Trivalent	N_A+order+N_P +to-INF	6	67%
		N_A+instruct+N_P +to-INF	3	33%
Total			**9**	**100%**

In the parallel corpus, all occurrences of the Chinese SAV *zecheng* were translated as verbs. Six (67%) of the occurrences were translated as *order* and three (33%) of these were translated as *instruct*. Most importantly, the analysis shows that both *order* and *instruct* occurred in the equivalent valency sentence pattern to *zecheng*'s valency sentence pattern in the original, such as Examples (106) and (107).

106)下级审计机关作出的审计决定违反国家有关规定的, 上级审计机关可以责成下级审计机关予以变更或者撤销

[上级 审计 机关] 可以<u>责成</u> [下级审计机关] [予以变更 或者 撤销]

[*shangji shenji jiguan*] *keyi zecheng* [*xiaji shenji jiguan*] [*yuyi biangeng huozhe chexiao*]

[Higher level audit authority] may instruct [lower level audit authority] [to change or revoke]

106t) Where audit decisions made by audit authorities at lower levels are in violation of relevant State provisions, [audit authorities at higher levels] may <u>order</u> [audit authorities at lower levels] [to change or revoke the decisions], …

106b) [They] may order [them] [*to*-infinitive clause].

107) 已批准公布的历史文化名城、名镇、名村，因保护不力使其历史文化价值受到严重影响的，[批准机关]应当将其列入濒危名单，予以公布，并<u>责成</u>[所在地城市、县人民政府] [限期采取补救措施，防止情况继续恶化，并完善保护制度，加强保护工作]。

[批准 机关] 应当…，并 <u>责成</u> [所在地 城市、 县 人民 政府]

[*pizhun jiguan*] *yingdang bing* <u>*zecheng*</u> [*suozaidi chengshi xian renmin zhengfu*]

[Approval authority] shall and instruct [located city town people's government]

[限期 采取 补救 措施]，

[*xianqi caiqu bujiu cuoshi*]

[within time limit take remedial measure]

107t) Where the historical and cultural value of a famous historical and cultural city, town or village that has been approved and announced as such is seriously impaired due to ineffective protection, [the approval authority] shall put it on an in-danger list, publish the list, and order [the people's government of the city or county where the city, town or village is located] [to take remedial measures within a time limit to prevent further deterioration of the conditions, improve the protection system and provide effective protection].

107b) [They] shall order [them] [*to*-infinitive clause].

As can be seen, like *zecheng*, the translation equivalents *order* and *instruct* also occurred in trivalent sentence patterns consisting of a subject complement, an object complement and a verbal complement. Despite the slight difference in the realization form of verbal complements between *zecheng* (an uninflected verb phrases), and *order* and *instruct* (*to*-infinitive verb phrase), the two trivalent sentence structures are considered as equivalent valency structures. The complete syntactic congruence between *zecheng* and its translation equivalents is not surprising, considering that *order* and *instruct* are semantically similar to *zecheng* and can take equivalent syntactic structures to *zecheng*.

Zecheng is very similar to *order* and *instruct*: the addressee of *zecheng*, *order* and *instruct* can be a specific person or impersonal bodies such as institutions; and the speaker assumes that he has superior authority over the addressee and he can impose a certain range of responsibilities on the addressee (Wierzbicka, 1987). Like *order*, *zecheng* is a fairly forceful, official and self-confident speech act, more so than *instruct*. However, unlike *order*, *zecheng* refers to the addressee's action rather than to people causing certain things to happen. In other words, the intention of the speaker is to get the addressee to do something rather than cause something to happen. In this respect, *zecheng* behaves like *instruct*.

Furthermore, *zecheng* differs from *order* and *instruct* in implying that something bad which is caused by or related to the addressee has happened, and the propositional content concerns how to deal with it, as illustrated in Examples (106) and (107). *Order* and *instruct* do not have that implied meaning, but it can always be retrieved in the context.

Finally, *zecheng* differs from *order* and *instruct* in that the authority of speaker is not a matter of interpersonal relations. The speaker only has authority with respect to certain actions, especially actions related to one's duties and tasks. The speaker assumes that the addressee has to cooperate

with that which the speaker wants him to do. This is shown in Example (106): audit authorities at higher levels can *zecheng* audit authorities at lower level to fulfil a task or function. This difference in speaker's authority leads to the assumption that when the speaker's authority is related to their duties and tasks, the translation between *zecheng* and *order* or *instruct* is reversible, but when the authority arises from interpersonal relations, the translation between *zecheng* and *order* or *instruct* is not reversible i.e. *order* and *instruct* could not be translated into *zecheng* in that context.

The corpus data for *zecheng* is limited: nine occurrences are not sufficient to make conclusive statements regarding the syntactic affinity between *zecheng* and its translation equivalents. However, the corpus data clearly indicates that English translation equivalents for this Chinese directive SAV are always directive SAVs and they are more likely to occur with identical or equivalent valency sentence patterns as the Chinese SAV.

7.2.3 Valency analysis of *zhiling* and the translation equivalents of *zhiling* in the parallel corpus

The person who '*zhiling* someone do something' wants to cause the addressee to do it by the speech act. *Zhiling* is treated as the Chinese translation equivalent of the English directive SAVs *instruct*, *direct*, *order* and *command*, as *zhiling* is similar to these four verbs in the speaker's assumption that by his speech act he can cause the addressee to do something and in expecting the addressee's cooperation and compliance. At the same time, *zhiling* also implies a hierarchical relationship, but like *command* and *direct*, *zhiling* is a more official and an institutionalized act than *ordering* and *instructing* (Wierzbicka, 1987). Furthermore, *zhiling* is closer to *instruct*, *direct* and *command* than to *order* in that the stress of the speaker is on an action by the addressee. Thus, *zhiling* is always used in valency structures with an object complement referring to the addressee and a verbal complement representing the action to be performed by the addressee.

The Chinese directive SAV *zhiling* is extremely infrequent in the parallel corpus and only four occurrences were found. Table 7-8 presents the three translation equivalents of *zhiling* observed in the corpus.

Table 7-8 Valency sentence patterns of *zhiling* and the translation equivalents of *zhiling* in the parallel corpus

Chinese verb *zhiling*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus			
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**		**Total**	**%**
N_A+V+N_P+VP	Trivalent	N_A+instruct+N_P +to-INF	2	50%
		N_A+ direct+N_P +to-INF	1	25%
		N_A+order+N_P +to-INF	1	25%
Total			**4**	**100%**

In the parallel corpus, *zhiling* occurred only in the trivalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> which indicates the speaker's stress on the addressee's action. The corpus data shows that two (50%) of the four occurrences of *zhiling* were translated into *instruct*, as in Example (108), one (25%) was translated into *direct*, as in Example (109), and one (25%) was translated into *order*, as in Example (110).

108) 上一级人民法院经审查, 可以责令原人民法院在一定期限内执行, 也可以决定由本院执行或者指令其他人民法院执行。

[上一级 人民法院]… 可以…指令 [其他人民 法院] [执行]。
[*shangyiji* *renmin fayuan*] *keyi* *zhiling* [*qita* *renmin* *fayuan*] [*zhixing*]
[Next higher level people's court] may instruct [other people's court] [execute]

108t) Upon review, [the people's court at the next higher level] may order the original people's court to execute within a specified period of time, or may decide to execute by itself or instruct [any other people's court] [to do it].

108b) [They] may instruct [them] [*to*-infinitive clause].

109) 委托 人民 法院 可以请求 [受委托 人民 法院 的 上级 人民
Weituo *renmin* *fayuan keyi qingqiu* [*shou weituo renmin fayuan* *de* *shangji* *renmin*
Entrusting peple's court may request [entrusted people's court PAR higher level people's
法院] 指令 [受委托 人民 法院] [执行]。
fayuan] *zhiling* [*shouweituo renmin fayuan*] [*zhixing*]
court] instruct [entrusted people's court] [execute]

109t) the entrusting people's court may request [the people's court at a higher level over the entrusted people's court] to instruct [the entrusted people's court] [to carry out the execution].

109b) [They] instruct [them] [*to*-infinitive clause].

110) 违反本法规定, 行政机关、人民法院指令金融机构将款项划入国库或者财政专户以外的其他账户的, 对直接负责的主管人员和其他直接责任人员依法给予处分。

[行政 机关、人民 法院] 指令 [金融 机构] [将款项 划入
[*xingzheng jiguan renmin fayuan*] *zhiling* [*jinrong jigou*] [*jiang kuanxiang huaru*
[administrative organ people's court] order [financial institution fund transfer into
国库 或者 财政 专户 以外 的 其他 账户] 的
guoku huozhe caizheng zhuanhu yiwai de qita zhanghu] *de*
national treasury or financial special account other than PAR other account] PAR

110t) If [the administrative organ or the people's court], in violation of the provisions of this Law, orders [the financial institution] [to transfer the amount into an account other than the national treasury or special financial account],…

110b) [They] order [them] [*to*-infinitive clause].

In all these three examples, the speakers (e.g. People's Courts at higher levels) have a position or authority over the addressee and they want to cause the addressee (e.g. People's Courts at lower levels) to know what things they should do and expect to cause them to do these things by the speech act. *Zhiling* in Examples (108) and (109) was translated as *instruct*, and as *order* in Example (110), which seem to be accurate ways to denote the speakers' intentions and imply a certainty as to the outcome.

As can be seen in Examples (108), (109) and (110), the three translation equivalents of *zhiling* all occurred with equivalent valency sentence patterns <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> in English, which reflects the semantic component of the speaker's focus on the addressee and the addressee's action. Although limited by low occurrence of *zhiling*, the data confirms the assumption that Chinese directive SAVs are more likely to be translated into directive SAVs in English and translators are more likely to use translation equivalents with valency structures similar to the original Chinese SAVs.

7.2.4 Valency analysis of *xialing* and the translation equivalents of *xialing* in the parallel corpus

The person who '*xialing* do something' wants the addressee to cause it to happen. The speaker does not anticipate any possible conflict of will and is confident that the addressee will comply. To that extent, *xialing* is similar to *order* as in both cases the speaker wants certain things to be done while

the addressee is less important (Wierzbicka, 1987). Thus, *xialing* often occurs with a verbal complement referring to an action without mentioning the addressee. However, *xialing* is more official and institutional than *ordering*. Thus, one can say 'the commander *xialing* attack now', but cannot say 'my mum *xialing* I leave now'.

Xialing is also close to *decree*, as they both imply an absolute superior power of the speaker over the addressee and addressee's obedience is taken for granted (Wierzbicka, 1987). However, "decrees are issued by rulers of countries and are aimed at entire populations" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 354), whereas *xialing* can be performed by either rulers of countries or an individual with superior power, such as a military leader, and is aimed either at entire populations or at a group of people, such as a group of soldiers.

Other typical translation equivalents for *xialing* in the pattern <N_A+V+VP> are *giving* and *issuing orders (to do something)*. The frequent use of such translation equivalents is partly because the English directive SAVs which are translation equivalents of *xialing* such as *order* and *decree* do not have sentence structures equivalent to *xialing*'s structures.

In the parallel corpus, it was surprising to find that the occurrence of *xialing* was exceedingly rare and only two instances were observed. The two valency sentence patterns of *xialing* and the translation equivalents of *xialing* are listed in Table 7-9.

Table 7-9 Valency sentence patterns of *xialing* and the translation equivalents of *xialing* in the parallel corpus

Chinese verb *xialing*	**English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus**			
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**		**Total**	**%**
N_A+V+VP	Monovalent	N_A + issue orders	1	50%
		N_A + give orders	1	50%
Total			**2**	**100%**

As shown in Table 7-9, the Chinese SAV *xialing* occurred in the divalent sentence pattern with a verbal complement directly following it <N_A+V+VP>, but neither of the two instances of *xialing* were translated into directive SAVs in English. *Xialing* in this pattern, was translated into the noun

order in the verbal phrases ‘issue orders to do something’ and ‘give orders to do something’, as in Examples (111) and (112).

111) [国务院] 可以 对 相关 边境 区域采取 控制 措施， 必要时 下令；
[guowuyuan] *keyi dui xiangguan bianjing quyu caiqu kongzhi cuoshi biyaoshi xialing*
[State council] may to relevant border area adopt control measure when necessary order
[禁止 来自 动 植物 疫区 的 运输 工具 进境 或者 封锁 有关 口岸]
[*jinzhi laizi dong zhiwu yiqu de yunshu gongju jinjing huozhe fengsuo youguan kou’an*]
[prohibit from animal plant epidemic PAR transport means enter border or close relevant port]

111t) [The State Council] may adopt measures to control the relevant border areas, and may, if necessary, issue orders to prohibit means of transport from animal or plant epidemic - stricken areas from entering the country or to close the relevant ports;

112) 国务院卫生行政部门应当立即报请国务院决定采取下列检疫措施的一部或者全部：
（一）下令[封锁陆地边境、国界江河的有关区域]；

[国务院] 下令 [封锁 陆地边境、国界 江河 的 有关 区域]
[*guowuyuan*] *xialing* [*fengsuo ludi bianjing guojie jianghe de youguan quyu*]
[State council] order [close land border national border river PAR relevant area]

112t) the administrative department of health under the State Council shall report the situation to [the State Council] for decisions on taking the following precautionary measures, partially or totally, in quarantine inspection:
(1) giving orders to blockade relevant sections of the border and frontier water course;

The *to*-infinitive verbal structures following the noun “orders” in Examples (111) and (112) are treated as a part of the nominal complement of *issue* and *give* rather than their verbal complements, as this *to*-infinitive structure implies the wanting of orders and represents that which the orders want to cause to happen. *Giving* and *issuing orders* perform a similar speech act as *xialing*, but the semantic meanings underlying the two different structures are not identical. The most obvious difference between *xialing* and *giving/issuing orders* concerns the uncertainty or lack of confidence of the latter. *Xialing* is more confident than ‘give/issue orders’, as ‘give/issue orders’ implies a risk of non-fulfilment and the acts are “given in absentia, via some intermediaries, and with respect to some later time” (Wierzbicka, 1988, p. 167). The emphasis of *xialing* is on the desired action, but the stress of ‘give/issue orders’ is much more on the action of giving/issuing orders itself rather than the desired action. In regard to the stylistic effect of ‘give orders’, it is less formal than *xialing* in this context. Therefore, the translator’s choice of ‘issue/give orders’ not only deviates semantically from the original, but also gives a less formal impression.

7.2.5 Valency analysis of *zeling* and the translation equivalents of *zeling* in the parallel corpus

This section will look at the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of *zeling* and translation equivalents of *zeling* observed in the parallel corpus. The translation equivalents for *zeling* will be investigated in sub-section 7.2.5.1. The valency sentence patterns of *zeling* and of the translation equivalents of *zeling* will be identified in Section 7.2.5.2 then compared in Section 7.2.5.3. Like the findings from the investigations of other examined Chinese directive SAVs in previous sections, this section will also show that the translation equivalents of *zeling* are most likely to occur with the same or similar valency sentence pattern as *zeling*.

7.2.5.1 Translation equivalents of *zeling* identified in the parallel corpus

In the parallel corpus, the Chinese directive SAV *zeling* occurred frequently with 871 occurrences in total and a wide variety of possible translation equivalents were observed for it. Altogether nine different translation possibilities, listed in order of frequency in Table 7-10, were identified.

Table 7-10 Translation equivalents of *zeling* identified in the parallel corpus

Translation equivalents	Valency sentence patterns	Occurrences	Total	Percentage
order	N_A+order+N_P+to-INF	504	743	85%
	order+N_P+to-INF	156		
	N_A+order+N_P	59		
	Order+N_P	8		
	N_A+order+N_P+to passive-INF	7		
	N_A+order+to-INF	6		
	Order+N_P+to passive-INF	3		
instruct	N_A+instruct+N_P+to-INF	68	78	9%
	Instruct+N_P+to-INF	10		
NP	order	28	32	4%
	(impose or give) sanctions	2		
	instruction	2		
No translation		11	11	1%
enjoin	N_A+enjoin+N_P+to-INF	5	5	1%
compel	N_A+compel+N_P+to-INF	1	1	0%
suggest	N_A+suggest + to N+that	1	1	0%
Total		**871**	**871**	**100%**

Working with the assumption that one occurrence could be chance occurrence, only translation equivalents with more than one incident are treated as relevant and are highlighted in grey in Table 7-10.

It can be noted that 95% of the occurrences of the Chinese directive SAV *zeling* are translated as a verb. The most frequent translation equivalent for *zeling* in the parallel corpus is the English directive SAV *order*, with 743 occurrences, accounting for 85% of all occurrences. Around 9% of the occurrences of *zeling* have the translation equivalent *instruct*. Five (just under 1%) of the occurrences are translated as *enjoin*, which is not listed as the translation equivalent of *zeling* in the bilingual dictionaries.

As shown in Table 7-10, 4% of the occurrences of *zeling* are translated into a norminalized structure such as *order* and *instruction*, as in Example (113).

113) [审计 人员] 违法 违纪 取得 的 财物， 依法 予以
[*shenji renyuan*] *weifa* *weiji* *qude* *de* *caiwu* *yifa* *yuyi*
[audit personnel] violate laws and disciplines obtain PAR property in accordance with the law to it
追缴、 没收 或者 <u>责令</u> [退赔]。
zhuijiao moshou *huozhe* <u>*zeling*</u> [*tuipei*]
recover, confiscate or <u>order</u> [restitute]

113t) Property obtained by audit personnel in violation of laws and disciplines shall be recovered, confiscated or restituted <u>by order</u> in accordance with the law.

In Example (113), *zeling* occurred in a divalent pattern <V+N_P+VP> with the addressee being retrievable from the context: “shenji renyuan (audit personnel)”. However, the translator chose a nominalized structure introduced by a preposition ‘*by*’ and makes implicit the agent of the desired action, which shifts the focus from the desired action “tuipei (restitute)” by the agent “shenji renyuan (audit personnel)” to the outcome of the action.

There are also eleven occurrences (roughly 1%) where no suitable translation equivalents could be identified, such as Example (114).

114) 申请人 自 [人民法院] 采取 责令 [停止 有关 行为] 的 措施 之日起 十五
shenqingren zi [*renmin fayuan*] *caiqu* *zeling* [*tingzhi youguan xingwei*] *de* *cuoshi* *zhiri qi shiwu*
Applicant from [people's court] take order [cease relevant act] PAR measure day since 15
日 内 不 起诉 的，人民 法院 应当 解除 该 措施。
ri *nei* *bu* *qisu* *de* *renmin fayuan* *yingdang* *jiechu* *gai* *cuoshi*
days within not file an action PAR people's court shall terminate such measure

114t) If the applicant fails to file an action within 15 days after the people's court takes the said measures to cease the relevant act, the people's court shall lift such measures.

There is no doubt that the omission of *zeling* in the translation leads to the complete loss of the directive speech act that the speaker intends to perform by stating *zeling* in the original. As the SAV *zeling* is vital to the functioning of law by creating the legal force of causing the addressee to do the desired action, the omission of *zeling* not only leads to meaning distortion, but also hinders the cross-cultural communication of the intention of the speaker and of legal force.

7.2.5.2 The valency sentence patterns of *zeling* and the translation equivalents of *zeling* observed in the parallel corpus

Zeling occurred in seven different valency sentence patterns: two divalent patterns and five trivalent patterns. In this section, the seven valency sentence patterns of *zeling* will be compared to those of preferred translation equivalents of *zeling* in order to investigate whether the preferred translation equivalents show similar or different valency sentence patterns to *zeling*.

7.2.5.2.1 *Zeling* in divalent patterns

The parallel corpus has 205 occurrences of *zeling* occurring in the divalent sentence pattern <V+N_P+VP> and nine occurrences occurring in <N_P+bei V+VP>. The valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *zeling* in these two patterns are listed in Table 7-11.

Table 7-11 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *zeling* in divalent sentence patterns

Chinese verb *zeling*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
V+N_P+VP (205)	Monovalent	order+N_P	*N_P be ordered*	8	4%
	Divalent	order+N_P+to-INF	*N_P be ordered to-INF*	149	78%
		order+N_P+to passive-INF	*N_P be ordered to passive-INF*	2	
		instruct+N_P+to-INF	*N_P be instructed to-INF*	9	
	Trivalent	N_A+order+N_P+to passive-INF		2	10%
		N_A+order+N_P+to-INF		15	
		N_A+instruct+N_P+to-INF		3	
	Others	NP	*order*	10	8%
			instruction	2	
		No Translation		5	
N_P+bei V+VP (9)	Divalent	order+N_P+to-INF	*N_P be ordered to-INF*	6	67%
	Others	NP	order	3	33%

As shown in Table 7-11, when translated as verbs, two translation equivalents were identified for *zeling* in divalent sentence patterns: *order* and *instruct*. 78% of the occurrences of *zeling* in the divalent pattern <V+N_P+VP> and 67% of the occurrences of *zeling* in the divalent pattern <N_P+bei V+VP> are translated as *order* or *instruct*, occurring in equivalent divalent patterns as *zeling* in the parallel corpus, such as Examples (115), (116) and (117).

115) 领导成员应当引咎辞职或者因其他原因不再适合担任现任领导职务，本人不提出辞职的，应当<u>责令</u>其辞去领导职务。

应当 <u>责令</u> [其] [辞去领导职务]
yingdang <u>*zeling*</u> [*qi*] [*ciqu lingdao zhiwu*]
Shall <u>order</u> [him] [resign leading post]

115t) If a leading person who should admit his mistake and resign or is no longer suitable for holding the current leading post due to other reasons does not offer resignation, [he] <u>shall be ordered</u> [to resign from the leading post].

115b) <u>order</u> [him] [*to*-infinitive clause]

116) [药品的生产企业、经营企业、药物非临床安全性评价研究机构、药物临床试验机构未按照规定实施《药品生产质量管理规范》、《药品经营质量管理规范》、药物非临床研究质量管理规范、药物临床试验质量管理规范的], 给予警告, <u>责令</u>[限期改正];

[药品 的 生产企业、 经营企业、 药物 非 临床 安全性 评价 研究机构、
[*yaopin de shengchan qiye jingying qiye yaowu fei linchuang anquanxing pingjia yanjiu jigou*
[Drug manufacturer distributor drug non-clinical safety evaluation institution

药物 临床 试验 机构 未 按照 规定 实施… 的], …, <u>责令</u>
yaowu linchuang shiyan jigou wei anzhao guiding shishi de] <u>*zeling*</u>
drug clinical trial institution not according to regulation implement PAR] <u>order</u>

[限期 改正]
[*xianqi* *gaizheng*]
[within a time limit rectify

116t) [Any drug manufacturer, drug distributor, institution for non-clinical safety study, or institution for drug clinical trial that does not implement the GMP, GSP, GLP or GCP according to regulations] shall be given a disciplinary warning and shall be instructed [to rectify].

116b) instruct [them] [*to*-infinitive clause]

117) [作为 合伙人 的 法人 或者 其他 组织] 依法 被 吊销
[*zuowei hehuoren de faren huozhe qita zuzhi*] *yifa* *bei* *diaoxiao*
[As partner PAR legal person or other organization] according to law be revoked
营业 执照、 责令 [关闭、 撤销], …
yingye zhizhao *zeling* [*guanbi* *chexiao*]
business licence order [close down dissolve]

117t) [The partner], as a legal person or other organization, is revoked of its business license, or is ordered [to close down or dissolve], …

117a) order [the partner] [to close down or dissolve]

117b) order [him/her] [*to*-infinitive clause]

The corpus data shows that *zeling* in both divalent patterns shows strong preference for the translation equivalent *order*. The translation equivalent *instruct* occurred much less frequently than *order* and it is only used as a translation equivalent for *zeling* in the pattern <V+N_P+VP>, as exemplified in Example (115).

Zeling is similar to *order* and *instruct* in expressing the speaker's desire to cause someone to do something and the assumptions about the hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee (Wierzbicka, 1987). The speaker presumes an authority over the addressee derived from a social or institutional position and the speaker expects the addressee's obedience. However, as can be seen from Examples (115), (116) and (117), *zeling* implies that something bad which is caused by or related to the addressee has happened and it involves a negative judgement about that human action, which distinguishes *zeling* from *order* and *instruct*. *Zeling* means, essentially, 'I think you have done something wrong and I want you to do something to make the bad situation better'. The speaker wants the addressee to do something which can rectify and improve the situation.

Furthermore, *zeling* takes the addressee phrase as its direct object, but the addressee does not always follow the verb directly. The addressee is often presented in a nominal complement preceding *zeling* or separated from *zeling* by a comma, as in Examples (116) and (117). Unlike *order*, *zeling* is aimed at the addressee's action and cannot take an action noun as its direct object. This is supported by the corpus data which shows that all occurrences of *zeling* occurred with an addressee and a verbal complement and no action nouns were observed to occur with *zeling*. By contrast, eight occurrences of *zeling* in the divalent pattern <V+N_P+VP> were translated into *order* with an action noun as the direct object, as in Example (118).

118) ［违反 本 法 规定， 提交 虚假文件 或 采取 其他 欺骗 手段， 取得
[*Weifan* *ben fa* *guiding* *tijiao* *xujia wenjian* *huo* *caiqu* *qita* *qipian* *shouduan* *qude*
[violate this Law provisions, submit false document or take other fraudulent means obtain
企业登记 的］， 责令 改正, …
qiye dengji *de*] zeling [*gaizheng*]
enterprise registration PAR], order [make correction]

118t) In case of a violation of the provisions of this Law by submitting false documents or taking other fraudulent means to obtain the registration of an individual proprietorship enterprise, [due correction] shall be ordered, …

118a) order [correction]

118b) order [it]

The noun phrase preceding the verb *zeling* functions as the object of the verb *zeling*. It consists of a relative clause and the modified noun following the final particle '*de*' is omitted. In the original, both the agent of the desired action and the action are emphasized in this structure. As can be seen from Example (118t), *zeling* in this divalent pattern was translated into *order* which takes the action noun "correction" as its direct object. The stress of this monovalent structure 'order + action noun' is mainly on causing the correction to happen rather than on the agent of the desired action. Accordingly, it leads to a semantic deviation from the original.

7.2.5.2.2 *Zeling* in trivalent patterns

There are 657 occurrences of *zeling* in trivalent valency sentence patterns in the parallel corpus. The translation equivalents for each of the patterns of *zeling* are listed in Table 7-12.

Table 7-12 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *zeling* in trivalent sentence patterns

Chinese verb *zeling*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
N_A+V+N_P+VP (118)	Divalent	N_A+order+N_P		12	14%
		order+N_P+to-INF	*N_P be ordered to-INF*	2	
		N_A+order+to-INF		2	
	Trivalent	N_A+order+N_P+to-INF	*N_A order N_P to-INF*	71	80%
			N_P be ordered to-INF by N_A	2	
		N_A+instruct+N_P+to-INF		15	
		N_A+enjoin+N_P+to-INF		5	
		N_A+compel+N_P+to-INF		1	
		N_A+suggest+to N_P+that		1	
	Others	NP	*order*	5	6%
		No translation		2	
N_P +you N_A+V+VP you N_A+V+N_P+VP (534)	Divalent	N_A+order+N_P		47	10%
		N_A+order+ to-INF		4	
		order+N_P+to passive-INF	*N_P be ordered to passive-INF*	1	
		instruct+N_P+to-INF	*N_P be instructed to-INF*	1	
	Trivalent	N_A+order+N_P+to-INF	*N_A order N_P to-INF*	298	87%
			N_P be ordered to-INF by N_A	113	
		N_A+order+N_P+to passive-INF	*N_A order N_P to passive-INF*	5	
		N_A+instruct+N_P+to-INF	*N_A instruct N_P to-INF*	19	
			N_P be instructed to-INF by N_A	30	
	Others	NP	order	10	3%
			sanction	2	
		No translation		4	
N_A+dui N_P+V+VP (3)	Trivalent	N_A+order+N_P+to-INF		3	100%
dui N_P+you N_A+V+VP (1)	Trivalent	N_A+instruct+N_P+to-INF	*N_P be instructed to-INF by N_A*	1	100%
N_P+bei N_A+V+VP (1)	Trivalent	N_A+order+N_P+to-INF	*N_P be ordered to-INF by N_A*	1	100%

Again, as in the previous analysis of divalent patterns, the translation equivalents for *zeling* in trivalent patterns also occur frequently in trivalent patterns in English. Furthermore, the translation equivalents of *zeling* in trivalent patterns occur most frequently in equivalent sentence patterns in English.

As shown in Table 7-12, the most frequent trivalent sentence pattern of *zeling* in the parallel corpus is <you N_A+V+N_P+VP>, with 534 occurrences accounting for 81% of all occurrences of *zeling* in trivalent patterns. The receivers of the action (N_P) were either put in front of the preposition '*you*' as the subject of the sentence, or after the verb as the object. The valency sentence patterns with N_P in these two positions were classified into one category. This most frequent trivalent pattern occurs with only two translation equivalents, *order* and *instruct*, occurring predominantly in the equivalent trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, such as Examples (119) and (120).

119) [管理 专利 工作 的 部门] 处理 时， 认定 侵权行为 成立 的，
[*guanli zhuanli gongzuo de bumen*] *chuli shi rending qinquan xingwei chengli de*
[manage patent work PAR department] handle when believe infringement establish PAR,
可以 <u>责令</u> [侵权人] 立即 [停止 侵权 行为].
keyi <u>*zeling*</u> [*qinquanren*] *liji* [*tingzhi qinquan xingwei*]
may <u>order</u> [infringer] immediately [cease infringement act]

119t) If the said department believes the infringement is established when handling the dispute, [it] may <u>order</u> [the infringer] [to cease the infringement act immediately].

119b) [it] may order [him/her] [*to*-infinitive clause]

120) [保险机构 未经 批准 经营 农业 保险业务 的], [由 保险
[*baoxian jigou weijing pizhun jingying nongye baoxian yewu de*] [*you baoxian*
[Insurance institution without approval engage in apricultural insurance PAR] [you insurance
监督 管理 机构] <u>责令</u> [改正], . . .
jiandu guanli jigou] <u>*zeling*</u> [*gaizheng*]
regulatory authority] <u>order</u> [make correction]

120t) [An insurance institution that engages in agricultural insurance business without approval] <u>shall</u> <u>be</u> <u>ordered</u> [to make corrections] [by the relevant insurance regulatory authority], …

120a) [the relevant insurance regulatory authority] shall order [an insurance institution that engages in agricultural insurance business without approval] [to make corrections]

120b) [They] shall order [it] [*to*-infinitive clause].

'*You*' is similar to '*bei*' in form as both of them are combined with nouns to introduce the doer of the action. But there are several interesting differences between the two prepositions. First, the valency sentence pattern with '*bei*' indicates that the subject of the sentence is the receiver of the action and it expresses passive meaning. In contrast, the valency sentence pattern with the preposition '*you*' has no passive meaning. Usually, the preposition '*bei*' expresses the result of the action and implies that the action has been done, whereas the pattern with '*you*' does not imply such a meaning. Furthermore, in the valency sentence pattern with '*you*', the receiver of the action can be put at the beginning of the sentence as the subject of the verb, or after the verb as the object of the verb, but in a '*bei*' construction, the receiver of the action cannot be put after the verb as the object.

Although '*you*' does not indicate passive meaning, it is often translated into the passive voice in English with the translation equivalent '*by*', as seen in Example (120). This suggests that the valency sentence patterns of *zeling* in the original Chinese legislative texts have an impact on the choice of the valency sentence patterns of translation equivalents in English.

Another frequent trivalent sentence pattern, <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, occurs with a wide variety of translation equivalents including *order*, *instruct*, *enjoin*, *compel* and *suggest*. But *enjoin*, *compel* and *suggest* occurred much less frequently than *order* and *instruct*; *compel* and *suggest* each occur only once in the parallel corpus. Due to their low frequency of occurrence, *compel* and *suggest* were seen as chance occurrences based on translators' personal, creative interpretations and preferences. Indeed, *compel* and *suggest* are semantically different from *zeling* and normally are not viewed as the translation equivalents of *zeling*. Although *compel* is also an attempt to get the addressee to do something, it differs from *zeling* in its emphasis on the speaker's forceful attitude. The position of the person who *compels* is one of power and the speaker anticipates the strong unwillingness or resistance of the addressee, but he thinks he can impose his will on the addressee and forcefully and irresistibly cause an action by the addressee.

The most obvious difference between *suggest* and *zeling* concerns the unassuming and tentative character of the former (Wierzbicka, 1987). *Zeling* presupposes that the speaker has a position of authority over the addressee and expects addressee's obedience. In *suggesting*, the speaker offers an opinion concerning what would be a good thing for the addressee to do and wants to cause the addressee to consider it (Wierzbicka, 1987). The illocutionary purpose of *suggesting* is to assist the addressee make his decision by putting forward possibilities for consideration (Wierzbicka, 1987). The speaker does not expect that his speech act will direct the addressee and, in fact, he is uncertain whether the addressee would follow his idea (Wierzbicka, 1987). Thus, the semantic meanings of *compel* and *suggest*, and *zeling* are fairly dissimilar. I propose that *compel* and *suggest* should not be used as translation equivalents of *zeling*.

It has to be pointed out that the translation equivalent *enjoin* is very close to *zeling*. Like *zeling*, *enjoin* typically occurs in the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> to express the speaker's desire to get the addressee to do something, as in Example (121). Both *zeling* and *enjoin* are official speech acts that are normally performed in writing by institutions, particularly governments and courts. Furthermore, *enjoin* is similar to *zeling* in connoting a degree of 'badness' and urgency.

121) [人民　法院] 可以 责令 [申请人] [提供 担保], …
[*renmin fayuan*] *keyi* *zeling* [*shenqingren*] [*tigong* *danbao*]
[People's court] may order [applicant] [provide security]

121t) [The people's court] may enjoin [the applicant] [to provide security]

121b) [They/It] may enjoin [him/her] [*to*-infinitive clause].

The trivalent patterns with prepositional complement '*dui*' <N_A+dui N_P +V+VP> and <dui N_P+you N_A+V+VP> are exceedingly rare in the parallel corpus, occurring in less than 1% of all occurrences. The preposition '*dui*' introduces the receiver of the action and it can be put in the initial position of the sentence as the subject, such as Example (122), or in front of the verb *zeling*, as in Example (123).

122) [对 六个 月 内 发生 二次 以上 特大 交通 事故 负有
[*dui liu ge* *yue* *nei* *fasheng erci* *yishang teda* *jiaotong shigu* *fuyou*
[to six classifier month within occur twice more exceptionally serious traffic accident take
主要 责任 或者 全部 责任 的 专业 运输 单位], [由 公安
zhuyao zeren *huozhe quanbu zeren* *de* *zhuanye* *yunshu danwei*] [*you gong'an*
main responsibility or full responsibility PAR professional transport unit] [by public security
机关 交通 管理 部门] 责令 [消除 安全 隐患], …
jiguan *jiaotong guanli* *bumen*] *zeling* [*xiaochu* *anquan yinhuan*]
authority traffic control department] order [remove safety hazard]

122t) Where a professional transport unit that is chiefly or fully responsible for two or more exceptionally serious traffic accidents within six months, [it] shall be instructed [by the traffic control department of the public security organ] [to remove all the hidden troubles endangering safety], …

123) [人民法院] [对违反法庭规则 的 人], 可以予以 训诫, 责令 [退出 法庭]
[*renmin fayuan*][*dui weifan fating guize de* *ren*], *keyi yuyi* *xunjie* *zeling* [*tuichu fating*]
[people's court] [to violate court rule PAR person] may to him reprimand order [leave courtroom]
或者 予以 罚款、 拘留。
huozhe *yuyi* *fakuan* *juliu*
or to him impose a fine detain

123t) If a person violates the court rules, [the people's court] may reprimand him, or order [him] [to leave the courtroom], or impose a fine on or detain him.

123b) [They/It] may order [him/her] [*to*-infinitive clause]

It can be seen that the prepositional '*dui*' introduces the receiver of the action and the preposition complement should be seen as the object of the verb *zeling*. The prepositional complements with '*dui*' are translated as nouns directly following the main verb in the English translations, and these

nouns also act as the receiver of the action. This indicates that such syntactic change is a semantic obligation and the two structures are similar in English and Chinese.

One passive structure is observed for *zeling* in the trivalent pattern <N_P+bei N_A+V+VP>, but it is extremely rare with only one instance in the parallel corpus. This suggests that the passive structure with '*bei*' is not common for *zeling* in written legislative texts. *Zeling* in this passive structure is translated as *order*, which occurs in passive voice, as illustrated in Example (124).

124) ［证券　　公司］　［被国务院　　证券　　监督管理 机构］　依法
[*zhengquan gongsi*]　[*bei guowuyuan zhengquan jiandu guanli jigou*]　*yifa*
[Securities company] [by State Council securities regulatory authority] in accordance with laws
<u>责令</u>　［关闭］, …
<u>*zeling*</u>　[*guanbi*]
<u>order</u>　[close]

124t) Where [a securities company] <u>is ordered</u> [by the securities regulatory authority of the State Council] [to shut down for administrative liquidation], …

124b) [They] order [it] [*to*-infinitive clause].

Based on the analysis of the valency sentence patterns of *zeling* and the translation equivalents of *zeling*, it seems that all sentence patterns of *zeling* have the same preferred translation equivalents, *order* and *instruct*, with the exception of the trivalent sentence pattern <dui N_P+you N_A+V+VP> which has only one occurrence in the parallel corpus. The preferred translation equivalents share one or more syntactic frames with the Chinese directive SAV *zeling*, and they most frequently occur with equivalent structures and with the same number of complements as *zeling*.

7.2.5.3 Comparison of the valency sentence patterns of *zeling* and the translation equivalents of *zeling*

To further investigate whether the valency sentence patterns are to some degree an indicator for the choice of translation equivalents and their valency sentence patterns, the translation equivalents of *zeling* are classified into four categories: translation equivalents occurring in same or similar valency sentence patterns, translation equivalents occurring in different valency sentence patterns, translation equivalents as nouns, and where no translation is identified.

Table 7-13 shows the frequency and percentage of the translation equivalents of *zeling* in the four categories for each type of valency sentence pattern of *zeling*. For each type of valency sentence pattern of *zeling*, the highest frequency and percentage of the category of translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* are highlighted in grey.

Table 7-13 Comparison of valency sentence patterns of *zeling* with the valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *zeling*

Valency sentence patterns of *zeling*	Valency sentence patterns of English translation equivalents	Total	Percentage
$V+N_P+VP$ (205)	$V+N_P$+to-INF	158	77%
	$V+N_P$+to passive-INF	2	1%
	Other patterns	28	14%
	Noun	12	6%
	No translation	5	2%
N_P+bei V+VP (9)	N_P be ordered to-INF	6	67%
	Noun	3	33%
N_A+V+N_P+VP (118)	N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	94	80%
	Other patterns	17	14%
	Noun	5	4%
	No translation	2	2%
you N_A+V+N_P+VP (534)	N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	460	86%
	Other patterns	58	11%
	Noun	12	2%
	No translation	4	1%
N_A+dui N_P+V+VP (3)	N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	3	100%
dui N_P+you N_A+V+VP (1)	N_A+V+N_P+to-INF	1	100%
N_P+bei N_A+V+VP (1)	N_P be ordered to-INF by N_A	1	100%
Total		871	

In the parallel corpus, *zeling* occurred predominantly with an object complement (a noun) plus a verbal complement (a verb or verb phrase in the base form of the verb), and the translation equivalents of *zeling* also occurred mainly with an object complement (a noun) plus a verbal complement (*to*-infinitive), as seen in Table 7-13. As there is no direct syntactic equivalent in English to the base form of a verb in the object position or to a finite verb followed by a noun plus the base form of a verb, this is generally translated in English as a finite verb followed by a noun plus an infinitive. Despite the verbal structural differences between the two languages, these two constructions are seen as equivalent structures with the same meaning content and same number of complementation patterns.

Despite the structural differences among the four valency sentence patterns of *zeling*, <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, <N_P+you N_A+V+VP>, <you N_A+N_P+V+VP> and <dui N_P+you N_A+V+VP>, the translation equivalents most frequently occurred in the same valency sentence patterns <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>. This may not be too surprising, considering that the meaning expressed by the prepositional complements '*you*' and '*dui*' can also be expressed merely with a noun or noun phrase with the prepositions omitted in Chinese, as shown in the rewritten sentences (125r) and (126r).

125) [保险机构 未经 批准 经营 农业 保险业务 的], [由 保险
[*baoxian jigou* *weijing pizhun* *jingying* *nongye* *baoxian yewu de*] [*you baoxian*
[Insurance institution without approval engage in agricultural insurance PAR] [by insurance
监督管理 机构] 责令 [改正], . . .
Jiandu guanli jigou] *zeling* [*gaizheng*]
regulatory authority] order [make correction]

125r) [保险 监督管理 机构] 责令 [未经 批准 经营 农业 保险业务 的
[*baoxian* *jiandu guanli jigou*] *zeling* [*weijing pizhun* *jingying* *nongye* *baoxian yewu de*
[insurance regulatory authority] order [without approval engage in agricultural insurance PAR
保险 机构], [改正], . . .
baoxian *jigou*] [*gaizheng*]
Insurance institution] [make correction]

125t) [An insurance institution that engages in agricultural insurance business without approval] shall be ordered [to make corrections] [by the relevant insurance regulatory authority], …

125a) [the relevant insurance regulatory authority] shall order [an insurance institution that engages in agricultural insurance business without approval] [to make corrections]

125b) [They] shall order [them] [*to*-infinitive clause].

126) [人民法院] [对 违反 法庭 规则 的 人], 可以… 责令 [退出 法庭], …
[*renmin fayuan*] [*dui weifan fating guize de* *ren*] *keyi* *zeling* [*tuichu fating*]
[people's court] [to violate court rule PAR person] may order [leave courtroom]

126r) [人民法院] 可以…责令 [违反 法庭规则 的 人] [退出 法庭], …
[*renmin fayuan*] *keyi* *zeling* [*weifan fating guize de* *ren*] [*tuichu fating*]
[people's court] may order [violate court rule PAR person] [leave courtroom]

126t) If a person violates the court rules, [the people's court] may order [him] [to leave the courtroom]

126b) [They/It] may order [him/her] [*to*-infinitive clause]

As can be seen in Examples (125) and (126), in cases of replacement with a noun phrase, omitting the prepositions '*you*' and '*dui*' is totally acceptable, as eliminating these prepositions results in a grammatically correct sentence and does not change the meaning content or the number of valency complements of the verb.

Indeed, '*you*' and '*dui*' are usually used to achieve topic-prominence. In particular, for emphasis, the receiver of the action which is the object of the verb can be moved to the start of the clause as shown in Example (125), or moved to a position in front of the verb, as shown in Example (126), especially when the noun phrases that function as the object of the verb are long with modifiers including determiners, adjectives, quantifiers, possessives and relative clauses. For example, as demonstrated in Example (125), the receiver of the action is expressed by a noun phrase consisting of a head noun and a relative clause which is marked with the final particle '*de*'. If such a long noun phrase is placed after the verb, ambiguity may arise, whereas if the noun phrase is placed in subject position, the sentence is easily understood.

In addition, the translation equivalents for *zeling*, where the Chinese took a passive structure with '*bei*', all also took passive structures in English, as in Example (127).

127) [证券经纪业务] 被 责令 [停业 整顿] 的, …
[*zhengquan jingji yewu*] *bei zeling* [*tingye* *zhengdun*] *de*
[Securities company brokerage business] be ordered [cease business operation for rectification] PAR
127t) Where the brokerage business of a securities company is suspended for rectification under order,…

The passive sense is conveyed by the passive structure in the English translation, but the directive SAV *zeling* was not translated into an English directive SAV, but rather a nominalized structure introduced by the preposition '*by*'. The choice of the nominalized structure faithfully transfers the meaning of the message expressed by *zeling* into English, but it portrays the action of *zeling* less dynamically. The translator's stylistic considerations may constitute a triggering factor in the choice of the nominalized structure. According to Cao (2007), Chinese legal language is often ordinary, while the English legal language is full of formal and ritualistic usage. The linguistic difference between Chinese and English legal language may have prompted the translator to choose nominalization to give a formal impression.

There are eleven occurrences of *zeling* where no translation was identified, as in Example (128).

128) [情节 严重 的], 责令 [停业 整顿]。
[*qingjie* *yanzhong* *de*] *zeling* [*tingye* *zhengdun*]
[circumstance serious PAR] order [suspend business rectify]

128t) where the circumstances are serious, the business shall be suspended for rectification.

In Example (128), the Chinese directive SAV *zeling* in the original was not rendered in the translation and no translation equivalent could be identified. The speaker's intention to cause the addressee to carry out the desired action to stop the misconduct and to improve the situation was not reproduced in the translation. Thus, neither the information content nor the function of the original were preserved in the translation.

A clear visual representation of the corpus data can be provided by a pie chart. The percentage distributions of the four different categories of translation possibilities for all types of valency sentence patterns of *zeling* in the parallel corpus are summarized in Figure 7-2.

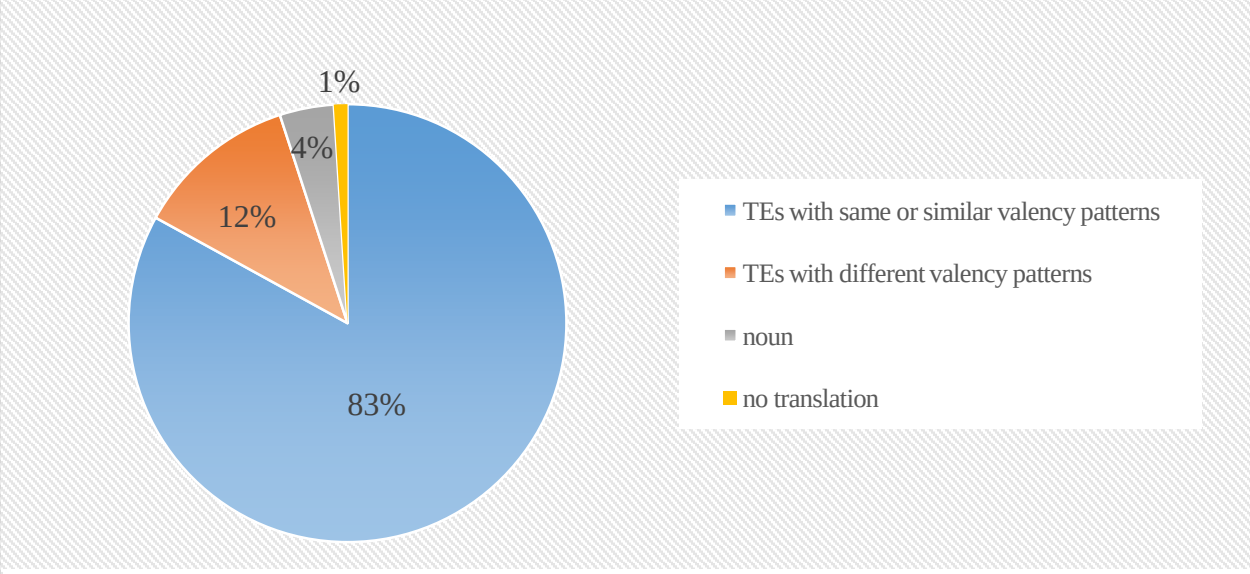

Figure 7-2 Percentage of translation equivalents of *zeling* in each category of syntactic structures

The pie chart above clearly shows that the majority of the translation equivalents of *zeling* in the parallel corpus were verbs. 83% of the translation equivalents of *zeling* occurred in the same or

equivalent valency sentence patterns as *zeling*. 12% of the translation equivalents of *zeling* occurred in different valency sentence patterns. Figure 7-2 also displays that only 5% of occurrences of *zeling* were not translated as a verb: 4% were translated as a noun, as in Example (127), and 1% were omitted in the translation, as in Example (128). This indicates that the translation equivalents are most likely to occur in the same valency sentence patterns as *zeling*.

In summary, it can be stated that all the patterns in which *zeling* occurred with in the parallel corpus contain two complements: a nominal complement acting as the receiver of the action and a verbal complement that expresses what the speaker wants the addressee to do. In the parallel corpus, *order* is found to be the dominating translation equivalent for *zeling* in such syntactic patterns, and the nominal and verbal complements of *zeling* are most frequently expressed with *order* in equivalent valency sentence patterns: a nominal complement plus a *to*-infinitive complement. Although *order* is found to be the dominating translation equivalent for *zeling* in all types of valency pattern, the data reveals that *zeling* in different valency patterns shows different preferences for its translation equivalents: *zeling* in the divalent patterns <V+N_P+VP> and <N_P+bei V+VP> has two preferred translation equivalents, *order* and *instruct*, but the trivalent sentence pattern of *zeling* <N_A+V+N_P+VP> occurs with a wide variety of translation equivalents, including *order*, *instruct*, *enjoin*, *compel* and *suggest*.

7.2.6 Valency analysis of *guiding* and the translation equivalents of *guiding* in the parallel corups

7.2.6.1 The valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *guiding* observed in the parallel corpus

In investigating the translation equivalents of the 1794 occurrences of the Chinese directive SAV *guiding* in the parallel corpus, a surprisingly wide range of translation possibilities for *guiding* were identified, as listed in order of frequency in Table 7-14.

Table 7-14 Translation equivalents of *guiding* identified in the parallel corpus

Translation equivalents		Valency sentence patterns	Occurrences	Subtotal	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Verbs	**specify**	N_P be specified in N_A	309	486	27%	1513	84%
		N_P be specified by N_A	134				
		N_A specify that	31				
		N_A specify N_P	8				
		N_P be specified	4				
	prescribe	N_P be prescribed by N_A	280	416	23%		
		N_P be prescribed in N_A	125				
		N_A prescribe that	9				
		N_A prescribe N_P	2				
	provide (for)	N_P be provided for in N_A	63	159	9%		
		N_P be provided for by N_A	48				
		N_P be provided by N_A	34				
		N_P be provided in N_A	10				
		N_A provide N_P	3				
		N_A provide that	1				
	stipulate	N_P be stipulated in N_A	62	134	7%		
		N_P be stipulated by N_A	59				
		N_A stipulate that	8				
		N_A stipulate N_P	5				
	formulate	N_P be formulated by N_A	107	112	6%		
		N_A formulate N_P	4				
		N_P be formulated	1				
	require	N_P be required by N_A	32	35	2%		
		N_A require N_P	2				
		N_P be required	1				
	set forth	N_P be set forth in N_A	22	29	2%		
		N_P be set forth by N_A	5				
		N_A set forth N_P	2				
	mention	N_P be mentioned in N_A	25	25	1%		
	define	N_P be defined by N_A	12	18	1%		
		N_P be defined in N_A	4				
		N_A define N_P	2				
	refer to	N_P be referred to in N_A	15	15	1%		
	designate	N_P be designated by N_A	9	10	1%		
		N_A designate N_P	1				
	determine	N_P be determined by N_A	10	10	1%		
	fix	N_P be fixed by N_A	7	10	1%		
		N_A fix N_P	2				
		N_P be fixed in N_A	1				
	set	N_P be set by N_A	9	9	1%		
	vest	N_P be vested by N_A	9	9	1%		
	lay down	N_P be laid down by N_A	3	5	0%		
		N_P be laid down in N_A	2				
	establish	N_P be established by N_A	3	4	0%		
		N_P be established	1				
	govern	N_P be governed by N_A	4	4	0%		

	list	N_P be listed in N_A	3	3	0%		
	enact	N_P be enacted by N_A	2	2	0%		
	unify	N_P be unified by N_A	1	2	0%		
		N_A unify N_P	1				
	include	N_P be included in N_A	1	2	0%		
		N_A include N_P	1				
	agree	N_P be agreed in N_A	2	2	0%		
	make	N_A make N_P	1	1	0%		
	approve	N_P be approved by N_A	1	1	0%		
	adopt	N_P be adopted by N_A	1	1	0%		
	design	N_P be designed by N_A	1	1	0%		
	work out	N_A work out N_P	1	1	0%		
	describe	N_P be described in N_A	1	1	0%		
	institute	N_P be instituted by N_A	1	1	0%		
	quote	N_P be quoted by N_A	1	1	0%		
	develop	N_P be developed by N_A	1	1	0%		
	mandate	N_P be mandated by N_A	1	1	0%		
	grant	N_P be granted by N_A	1	1	0%		
	impose	N_A impose N_P	1	1	0%		
Others	**past participle modifiers**	prescribed	64	123	7%	196	11%
		specified	48				
		required	4				
		authorized	4				
		fixed	1				
		limited	1				
		stipulated	1				
	nouns	provision	62	71	4%		
		regulation	7				
		requirement	1				
		sanction	1				
	adjective	statutory	2	2	0%		
No translation			85	85	5%	85	5%
	Total		**1794**	**1794**	**100%**	**1794**	**100%**

As many as fifty different translation possibilities were identified for the verb *guiding* in the parallel corpus, including verbs, nouns, past participles, adjectives and no translation, as listed in Table 7-14. It is notable that 84% of all occurrences of *guiding* were translated as a verb, and altogether 35 different English verbs or verbal phrases were identified as possible translation equivalents for the verb *guiding* in the parallel corpus.

As the English translation equivalents are interpretations of the original legal texts in Chinese, they are, to a certain degree, subjective. As above, only translation equivalents with more than one

incident were considered relevant. This still leaves 23 verbs as possible translation equivalents for the verb *guiding*. Some of these verbs are accepted in bilingual dictionaries as translation equivalents of *guiding*, as they express the same or similar semantic meaning as *guiding*, while others evidence something of a mistranslation or loose translation of *guiding*, because they are semantically different from *guiding* and create different legal effects, such as *mention*, *refer to*, *designate*, *vest*, *govern*, *list*, *enact*, *unify*, *include* and *agree*. These non-standard or mistaken translation equivalents will be excluded from further analysis, leaving 13 English verbs to be analyzed as the translation equivalents of *guiding*. They are highlighted in grey in Table 7-14.

It is surprising to find that the English verb *specify* is the most frequent translation equivalent of *guiding* in the parallel corpus. *Specify*, mainly in the patterns <(N_P+be) V+ in N_A> and <(N_P+be) V+ by N_A>, occurred in 27% of all occurrences of translation equivalents for *guiding*, as shown in Example (129).

129) 除 ［前款］ 规定 的 ［情形］ 外, …
chu [*qiankuan*] *guiding* *de* [*qingxing*] *wai*
Except [preceding paragraph] prescribe PAR [circumstance] except
129t) Except under [the circumstances] specified [in the preceding paragraph], …

The whole phrase "qiankuan guiding de (prescribed)" functions as a relative clause to modify the noun phrase "qingxing (circumstances)". In Chinese, the relative clauses always come in front of the head noun that they modify and they are marked with the final particle '*de*'. The head noun following '*de*' functions as the object of the verb in the relative clause, while the noun phrase preceding the verb is the subject.

In the *Oxford Dictionary Online*, *specify* is defined as "to state something, especially by giving an exact measurement, time, exact instruction, etc." *Specify* is similar to *guiding* in expressing the speaker's desire to cause the addressee to know something. The stress of *specify* is not on the addressee or an action, but rather on transmission of information, and thus the agent of the desired action cannot be given the status of direct object. *Specify* can occur with three types of complements including a noun phrase which can occur as the subject or object of the verb, a *that*-clause as in

Example (129), and a *wh*-clause. When used in an active declarative sentence, *specify* has a minimum valency of two (because both the subject and object are needed) and also a maximum valency of two, while in a finite passive clause, it has a minimum valency of one (because only the subject is needed) and a maximum valency of two. The noun phrase complement which occurs as the subject of an active clause can be given in a prepositional phrase in a passive clause, as in Example (129).

So far it can be seen that there is little difference between *specify* and *guiding* in terms of their syntactic frames, but some irreducible semantic differences remain between the two. The most obvious difference between *specify* and *guiding* concerns the non-directive sense of the former. The purpose of *guiding* consists in causing people of a certain kind to know what they should do and the speaker expects them to do it once they know, while the purpose of *specify* consists in causing a category of people to know something without any implied expectation to cause their activity. Furthermore, *specify* is different from *guiding* in lacking the assumption that the speaker has any sort of authority over the people of a certain category. Thus, *guiding* is more official and authoritative than *specify*.

The English directive SAV *prescribe* is also a preferred translation equivalent for *guiding*. Table 7-14 shows that about 24% of the 1794 occurrences of *guiding* have the translation equivalent *prescribe*. Like *specify*, *prescribe* also occurred most frequently with the divalent patterns <(N_P+be) V+ by N_A> and <(N_P+be) V+ in N_A>, such as Example (130).

130) [法律］<u>规定</u>　［特定　事项　由　行政　　法规　　规定　　具体　管理
[*falü*]　<u>*guiding*</u>　[*teding shixiang you xingzheng*　*fagui*　*guiding*　*juti*　*guanli*
[law]　<u>prescribe</u> [specific matter　by administrative regulation prescribe specific administration
措施　的］
cuoshi　*de*]
measure PAR]

130t) However, if [the law] <u>prescribes</u> [that the specific administration measures for a specific matter shall be prescribed by the administrative regulations],

130b) [It] prescribes [*that*-clause]

As discussed in Section 5.2.3, *guiding* is very similar to *prescribe*. *Guiding* is a peremptory speech act. The speaker assumes that he has certain authority over the target people and he can cause them to know what they should do by saying what they should do. *Guiding* is close to *prescribe* in the implied expectation that once people of the specified category know what they should do, they will do or at least try to do the action. But both *guiding* and *prescribe* are concerned more with causing persons of a certain kind to know what they should do than causing them to do the action. It is also worth noting that the syntax of the two verbs supports the semantic components posited: *guiding* and *prescribe* normally do not take an addressee phrase as their direct object. For example, *prescribe* can take a *that*-clause or can be used in 'prescribe something' but not in 'prescribe someone to do something'. The syntax of *guiding* is virtually the same: it either takes a clause or a noun as its direct object.

However, Wierzbicka (1987, p. 49) claims that the speaker's expectation that "once the target people know what they should do they will do it, or at least they will try to do it" is not a part of the meaning of *prescribe*. The example she used to support this claim is that when doctors prescribe medicine, they might say "I'll write you a prescription (for painkillers, etc.) just in case; you may or may not need it, just see how you go" and in such circumstances the target person is not expected to "respond to the speech act with an action". But I argue that if the purpose of the doctor who prescribes medicine does not consist in causing the target person to take the medicine at any future time, there is no point for the doctor to *prescribe* the medicine. The doctor does expect that when needed the target person will take the medicine prescribed.

Another link between *prescribe* and *guiding* concerns the speaker's assumption that he has certain authority over the persons of the specified kind and he can cause them to know what they should do by saying it (Wierzbicka, 1987). Furthermore, both *prescribe* and *guiding* are given in writing and are predominantly used in written legislative texts.

Guiding is also frequently translated into the English verb *provide*, with 159 occurrences accounting for 9% of all occurrences of *guiding*. The verb *provide* can occur with a wide range of valency patterns. As a translation equivalent of the verb *guiding*, *provide* occurs only in three

patterns: with the preposition '*for*' <N_A+V for+N_P>; with a subject and an object complement <N_A+V+N_P>; and with a *that*-clause <N_A+V+that-clause>. Most frequent is the translation with the preposition '*for*', with 111 occurrences. There are 47 occurrences with the subject and object complement, and only one occurrence with a *that*-clause in the parallel corpus. Depending on the pattern, the meaning or sense of *provide* changes slightly.

The verb phrase *provide for* predominantly occurred within a divalent patterns in the passive <N_P+be V+ by N_A> and <N_P+be V+ in N_A>, such as Example (131).

131) [在 开始 商业性 生产 前 发生 的 费用 和 有关 固定 资产 的
[*zai kaishi shangyexing shengchan qian fasheng de feiyong he youguan guding zichan de*
[at start business production prior to incur PAR fee and relevant fixed asset PAR
折耗、折旧 方法]，［由 国务院 财政、 税务 主管部门］ 另行 <u>规定</u>。
zhehao zhejiu fangfa] [*you guowuyuan caizheng shuiwu zhuguan bumen*] *lingxing* <u>*guiding*</u>
depreciation method] [you state council finance taxation authorities] separately <u>prescribe</u>

131t) [the method of depreciation for expenses incurred prior to the commencement of business production and relevant fixed assets] <u>shall be separately provided for</u> [by finance and taxation authorities of the State Council].

131a) [finance and taxation authorities of the State Council] shall provide for [the method of depreciation for expenses incurred prior to the commencement of business production and relevant fixed assets]

131b) [They] shall provide for [it]

The verb phrase *provide for* can be used to express three different meanings. If one says, for example, 'she provides for her children', it means that she supports them financially and gives them the things that they need (*Oxford Dictionary Online*). If someone 'provides for something', it conveys the meaning that the person makes arrangements for the thing to be done. The third use is concerned to "make it possible for something to be done" (*Oxford Dictionary Online*) and is restricted to legal discourse, typically, a law, rule, etc, such as Example (131).

'Provide something' expresses the meaning 'to give something to somebody or make it available for them to use', and 'provide *that*-clause' expresses the meaning "to state that something will or must happen" (*Oxford Dictionary Online*). It seems that only *provide for* and 'provide *that*-clause' express similar meaning as *guiding*. As in both cases, their use in legal discourse is associated with the imperative ('I want to cause you to know that something needs to be done'). However, *provide*

in these two structures differs considerably from the apparently synonymous *guiding*. Although what is *provided (for)* in a legal documents is issued by rulers of countires, *provide (for)* is not considered as a SAV. Furthermore, *provide* in these two structures focuses on the desired state of affairs (something to happen) rather than on the possible action. These semantic differences between *provide* and *guiding* are reflected in syntactic differences: *provide* cannot take human subjects or a noun representing an institution. It can only take impersonal subject such as laws and regulations. But *guiding* can take a human subject or a noun representing an institution, as in Example (131).

In the parallel corpus, 134 (7%) of all 1794 occurrences of *guiding* were translated into the English verb *stipulate*, which occurred mainly in passive structures, such as Example (132).

132) [章程] 规定 的 [其他权利]。
[*zhangcheng*] *guiding* *de* [*qita quanli*]
[charter] prescribe PAR [other rights]
132t) [other rights] as are stipulated [in the charter]
132b) [It] stipulate [them]

Like *guiding*, *stipulate* is used to express the spearker's desire to cause people of a certain kind to know what should be done or how something should be done. But *stipulate* does not necessarily imply that the speaker has authority over the target people. This component distinguishes *stipulate* from *provide for* and *guiding* and links it with *specify*. Furthermore, in both *stipulate* and *specify*, what the speaker wants to cause the target people to know is often more clearly stated and more detailed and exacting than with *guiding*.

The English verb *formulate*, despite occurring 112 times in the parallel corpus, is not considered as a translation equivalent of *guiding*, as it semantically represents a fairly different meaning from *guiding*. 'Formulate something' means to "create or prepare something carefully, giving particular attention to the details" (*Oxford Dictionary Online*). Firstly, unlike *guiding*, *formulate* is not a SAV as it does not refer to speech. Formulating is a straightforward act, concerned exclusively with creating and developing something by giving all the details of it. Thus, *formulate* does not refer to the will of the person who *formulates* something (when *formulating*, I do not want to cause

someone to know something or to do something). Further, *formulate* also differs from *guiding* in lacking the assumption of hierarchical relationship and the effect created by the two verbs are often quite different.

The semantic meaning of *formulate* is reflected in its syntax: it cannot take a human object but rather specific things such as a plan or policy. In the parallel corups, 111 (over 99%) of the 112 occurrences of *formulate* occurred in the divalent patterns <N_A+V+N_P>, such as Example (133), and one (1%) of these occurred in the monovalent pattern <V+N_P>.

133) [专利 代理 机构 的 具体 管理 办法] [由 国务院] 规定。
[*zhuanli daili jigou de juti guanli banfa*] [*you guowuyuan*] *guiding*
[patent agency PAR specific administration measure] [by State Council] prescribe

133t) [The specific measures for the administration of the patent agencies] shall be formulated [by the State Council].

133b) [They] shall formulate [them]

Formulate can occur with three types of complements: a noun phrase as subject; a noun phrase as object; and a *to*-infinitive clause following a noun phrase in the object position. The choice of *formulate* is probably triggered by the speaker's emphasis on the content of the desired state of affairs and the agent who will perform the action of *guiding*.

As can be seen in Table 7-14, about 2% of the 1794 occurrences of *guiding* have the translation equivalent *require*, as in Example (134). The more detailed discussion of the semantic meaning of *require* can be seen in Section 5.2.2.1.

134) 拒 报 或者 谎报 [国务院 环境 保护 行政
ju bao huozhe huang bao [*guowuyuan huanjing baohu xingzheng*
refuse to report or falsely report [the State Council Environmental Protection Administrative
主管部门] 规定 的 [有关 污染物 排放 申报 事项] 的;
zhuguan bumen] *guiding de* [*youguan wuranwu paifang shenbao shixiang*] de
Department] prescribe PAR [related to pollutant discharge declare items] PAR

134t) Refusing to report or submitting a false report on items of pollutants discharge for which [registration] is required [by the administrative department for environmental protection under the State Council].

134b) [They] require [it/this]

Require, in contrast to *guiding*, expresses a strong will to cause someone to do something. The most obvious difference between *guiding* and *require* concerns the illocutionary purpose ('I want to cause people to know what they should do' versus 'I want to cause someone to do something') (Wierzbicka, 1987). In Wierzbicka's (1987) analysis, *require* has the implication that the addressee has to do what the speaker wants him/her to do, but unlike *guiding*, *require* does not imply that the speaker has authority over the addressee. Rather, the speaker often presupposes that there is a specific reason to cause the addressee to carry out the required action on that particular occasion (Vanderveken, 1990). Wierzbicka (1987, p. 47) also argues that *require* puts the addressee under a strong obligation to comply, and such obligation is only "on that particular occasion" and "does not apply to other things that the speaker may want the addressee to do".

There are many other differences between *require* and *guiding*. *Guiding* is categorically aimed at people of a certain type, whereas *require* is aimed at individuals or specific groups of people. *Guiding* cannot take target people as its direct object, whereas *require* can either take a target person as its direct object, as in the syntactic frame 'somebody requires someone to do something', or take an action or a state of affairs as its object, as in 'somebody requires something'. *Require* can also take a *that*-clause which represents what the speaker wants to cause the addressee to do. But as can be seen in Table 7-14, only one realization form of the object is observed for the verb *require*: a noun phrase, as shown in Example (134).

Other much less frequent translation equivalents for *guiding* are *set forth*, *define*, *determine*, *fix*, *set*, *lay down* and *establish*, as in Examples (135) to (140), together accounting for less than 30 occurrences in the parallel corpus.

135) 企业所得税法第十三条第（三）项规定的支出，按照固定资产尚可使用年限分期摊销。

[企业 所得税 法第十三 条 第（三）项] <u>规定</u> 的 [支出]
[*qiye* *suodeshui fa di shisan tiao* *di san* *xiang*] <u>*guiding*</u> *de* [*zhichu*]
[enterprise income tax 13th article 3rd item prescribe PAR [expense]

135t) [<u>Expenses] as set forth [in Item (3) of Article 13 of the Enterprise Income Tax Law</u>] shall be amortized in installments during the remaining length of life of such fixed asset.

136) 个人独资企业可以依法申请贷款、取得土地使用权，并享有法律、行政法规规定的其他权利。

[法律、行政　　法规]　　规定　　的　[其他权利]
[*falü*　*xingzheng fagui*]　　*guiding*　*de*　[*qita quanli*]
[law　administrative regulation] prescribe PAR [other rights]

136t) Individual proprietorship enterprises may apply for loans and obtain the right to use land according to law and enjoy [other rights] defined [by law and administrative regulations].

137) 省、自治区、直辖市可以按照乡镇企业的不同行业和经营规模，分别规定用地标准。

[省、　　自治区、　　直辖市]　　可以…
[*sheng*　*zizhiqu*　　*zhixiashi*]　　*keyi*
[province autonomous region municipalities directly under the Central Government]　may

分别　　规定　　[用地　标准]。
fenbie　　*guiding*　　[*yongdi biaozhun*]
differently prescribe　[land use standard]

137t) [Provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government] may, in light of the different industries pursued by township or town enterprises and their scale of operation, fix [different limits for the area of land to be used].

138) 国家引导、推广农产品标准化生产, 鼓励和支持生产优质农产品, 禁止生产、销售不符合国家规定的农产品质量安全标准的农产品。

［国家］　规定　　的　［农产品　　质量　　安全　标准］
[*guojia*]　*guiding*　*de*　[*nongchanpin*　　*zhiliang anquan biaozhun*]
[the State] prescribe PAR [agricultural product quality　safety standard]

138t) The State gives guidance on and promotes standardized production of agricultural products, encourages and supports the production of high-quality agricultural products, prohibits the production and marketing of agricultural products which do not meet [the quality and safety standards] set [by the State for agricultural products].

139) 高等学校应当以培养人才为中心，开展教学、科学研究和社会服务，保证教育教学质量达到国家规定的标准。

[国家]　规定　　的　　[标准]
[*guojia*]　*guiding*　*de*　　[*biaozhun*]
[the State] prescribe PAR　[standard]

139t) Higher education institutions shall concentrate on training students, carry out teaching and research and provide services for the society, and ensure that the quality of education and teaching meet [the requirements] laid down [by the State].

140) [具体 办法] [由 国务院 民政部门 会同 国务院 财政
[*juti banfa*] [*you guowuyuan minzheng bumen huitong guowuyuan caizheng*
[specific measure by the State Council civil affairs department with the State Council financial
部门] 规定。
bumen] *guiding*
Department] prescribe

140t) [The specific measures] <u>shall be established</u> [by the civil affairs departments of the State Council jointly with the financial departments of the State Council].

The English translation equivalents of *guiding* in Examples (136) to (140) all occurred with the divalent patterns <N_A+V+N_P>, predominantly in the passive. From the contextal information, it can be seen that the main illocutionary purpose of *guiding* in these examples is much more on causing people to know who perfoms the action of *guiding* rather than causing people to know what they should do. In Examples (135), (137), (138) and (139), the translator chose *set forth*, *fix*, *set* and *lay down* to concisely reproduce the meaning of *guiding* in the source texts, but these choices are less formal than *guiding*. In Examples (136) and (140), the meanings expressed by *define* and *establish* in the translations do not semantically correspond to *guiding* in the original. The discrepancy in meaning between *guiding* and its translation equivalents might lead to not only inaccurate rendering of the content of the source text, but ineffectiveness of bilingual communication in law.

Based on the investigation in the valency sentence patterns of all these verbs chosen as the translation equivalents for *guiding* in the parallel corpus, it is notable that there is a common syntactic feature across these translation equivalents of *guiding*: all can occur or only occur (in some cases they can only occur) without a target person being mentioned. This suggests that the speaker's focus is not so much on people's action but rather on a state of affairs.

It has to be noted that 12% of the 1794 occurrences of translation equivalents of *guiding* are not verbs, but that the meaning in English is expressed with a past participle modifier, e.g. *prescribed*, *specified* and *required*, with a noun, e.g. *regulation* or *provision*, as in Example (141), or with an adjective, as in Example (142).

141) 申请 属于 ［专利法 第五条、 第二十五条］ 规定 的 ［情形］;
shenqing shuyu [*zhuanlifa di wu tiao di ershiwu tiao*] *guiding de* [*qingxing*]
application fall under [Patent Law Article 5, Article 25] prescribe PAR [circumstance]

141t) Where the application falls under the provisions of Article 5 or 25 of the Patent Law;

142) 如果 提案人 认为 必须 制定 该法律，可以 按照 ［法律］规定 的
ruguo ti'an ren renwei bixu zhiding gai falü keyi anzhao [*falü*] *guiding de*
If sponsor consider should formulate this law can in accordance with [law] prescribe PAR
［程序］ 重新 提出.
[*chengxu*] *chongxin tichu*
[procedure] anew propose

142t) If the sponsor still considers it necessary to enact the proposed law, he may submit the bill anew in accordance with the statutory procedures,

In Example (141), the verbal clausal structure "zhuanlifa di wu tiao, di ershiwu tiao guiding de qingxing (circumstances prescribed in Article 5 and Article 25)" was translated into a nominlized structure, which makes implicit the semantic meaning of "qingxing (circumstances)". As for Example (142), the translator chose an adjective "statutory" to denote the semantic meaning expressed by the verbal clause structure "falü guiding de chengxu (procedures prescribed by law)" in the original.

The choice of these concise expressions in the translation may be triggered by the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy. Syntagmatic economy is defined by Cristofaro (2003, p. 248) as "a pressure towards minimal effort and maximal simplification of expression" and it refers to "the tendency to reduce the length or complexity of any utterance of message". In Example (141), the translator may think "qingxing (circumstances)" is recoverable from the context and, thus, is affordable to leave out. Nominalized structures may arise out of this process of 'leaving out', which leads to the implicitation of "qingxing (circumstances)" and the action of *guiding*.

In the parallel corpus there are 85 occurrences of *guiding* where no suitable translation equivalents could be identified, such as Example (143).

143) ［法律］ 规定 ［可以不经 同意 查询 的］ 除外,
[*falü*] *guiding* [*keyi bujing tongyi chaxun de*] *chuwai*
[law] prescribe [can without consent enquire PAR] except

143t) unless the personal information can be enquired without consent by law.

In this example, the verb *guiding* occurred in a relative clause in the original Chinese legal text. This relative clause was expressed with a verbless equivalent structure "by law", as shown in the translation sentence (143t). As a result, the legal force produced by the directive SAV *guiding* is lost in the translation, but replaced through the expression "by law". The translation is considered an inappropriate rendering, as it fails to faithfully transfer the information content of the source text or to reproduce the desired legal effect. Thus, such occurrences are categorized as 'no translation'. The omission of *guiding* in the translation may again be triggered by the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy, choosing to leave out whatever he or she thinks is redundant or recoverable from the context. However, in this example, the omission of the finite clausal structure will affect the communicative value of the sentence.

7.2.6.2 The valency sentence patterns of *guiding* and the translation equivalents of *guiding* in the parallel corpus

The analysis of the syntactic patterns of all preferred translation equivalents for *guiding*, as listed in Table 7-14, has found that all these verbs occurred in the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P>. This section will further investigate whether there is a strong affinity between the valency sentence patterns of *guiding* and the valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *guiding* by comparing these patterns in the original texts and the translations. I will focus on some of the more frequent translation equivalents and their valency sentence patterns.

7.2.6.2.1 *Guiding* in monovalent patterns

An interesting case for discussion is constituted by a monovalent pattern with a nominal complement <V+N> for the verb *guiding* in the parallel corpus. The English translation equivalents for *guiding* occurring with this monovalent sentence pattern are listed in Table 7-15.

Table 7-15 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *guiding* in monovalent patterns

Chinese verb *guiding*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
V+N (135)	Monovalent	specify+N_P	*N_P be specified*	4	4%
		formulate+N_P	*N_P be formulated*	1	
		require+N_P	*N_P be required*	1	
	Others	Past participle modifiers	prescribed	64	96%
			specified	48	
			required	4	
			authorized	4	
			fixed	1	
			limited	1	
			stipulated	1	
		NP	regulation	2	
		No translation		4	

The most two frequent translation equivalents for *guiding* in this pattern are *prescribe* and *specify*, with 64 and 52 occurrences respectively in the parallel corpus. *Guiding* in this pattern is usually followed by the particle '*de*' which is used to link a whole phrase (verb phrase) to a noun, as shown in Example (144).

144) 工作人员 不得 违反 <u>规定</u> 的 ［权限 和 程序］ 查询 信息，…
gongzuo *bude* *weifan* *<u>guiding</u>* *de* [*quanxian he chengxu*] *chaxun* *xinxi*
staff member shall not violate prescribe PAR [authority and procedure] enquire about information

144t) The staff members shall not enquire about information in violation of the <u>prescribed</u> [authority and procedures], …

The whole phrase "guiding de (prescribed)" functions as a relative clause to modify the noun phrase "quanxian he chengxu (authority and procedure)". In Chinese, the relative clauses always come in front of the head noun that they modify and they are marked with the final particle '*de*'. The head noun following '*de*' functions as the object of the verb in the relative clause, while the noun phrase preceding the verb is the subject. The subject of *guiding* in Example (144) is omitted. This structure is often achieved with 'that' or 'who' in English, as in sentence (144r).

144r) The staff members shall not enquire about information in violation of the [authority and procedures] that is prescribed, …

However, as shown in Table 7-14, only 4% of the 135 occurrences of *guiding* in this pattern were translated into relative clauses in English. In total, 123 (92%) of all occurrences of *guiding* were translated into a verb in the past participle form functioning as pre-modifying adjectives to the head noun, such as Example (145). The English translation equivalents in the past parciple form as in Example (145t) are categorized as 'others'.

145) 在 规定 的 ［学术 会议 或者 技术 会议］ 上 首次 发表 的；
zai guiding de [*xueshu huiyi huozhe jishu huiyi*] *shang shouci fabiao de*
at prescribe PAR [academic conference or technological conference] at first time publish PAR
145t) It is published, for the first time, at a specified academic or technological conference;

As shown in Example (145), the translation equivalent *specify* takes the past participle form to modify nouns and express completed states. *Specify* in its past participle form has adjective- and verb-like properties that express a process. The choice of these expressions in the translation may be triggered by the grammatical features of the original: the ellipsis of the subjects or agents of the Chinese directive SAV *guiding*. The translator may choose a past participle modifier structure as an alternative expression to a passive finite clausal structure. The past participle in the translation may also be used under the influence of the syntactic structure of *guiding* in the original. *Guiding* in this monovalent pattern functions as a modifier for a noun phrase and it comes in front of the head noun. The translation equivalents in past participle form also function as modifiers preceding the noun phrase that they modify, indicating that translators show a strong preference to retain the syntactic patterns and functions of sentence elements if possible.

7.2.6.2.2 *Guiding* in divalent patterns

Three divalent patterns were identified for the verb *guiding*: <N_A+V+N_P>, with 1307 occurrences, <N_P+you N_A+V>, with 254 occurrences, and <N_A+V+Clause>, with 98 occurrences. The valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents for *guiding* in these three patterns are listed in Table 7-16, Table 7-17, and Table 7-18.

Table 7-16 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *guiding* in <N_A+V+N_P>

Chinese verb *guiding*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
N_A+V+N_P (1307)	Divalent (1169)	N_A+specify+N_P	*N_P be specified in N_A*	296	89%
			N_P be specified by N_A	112	
			N_A specify N_P	4	
		N_A+prescribe+N_P	*N_P be prescribe by N_A*	229	
			N_P be prescribe in N_A	125	
			N_A prescribe N_P	1	
		N_A+provide (for)+N_P	*N_P be provided for in N_A*	63	
			N_P be provided for by N_A	38	
			N_P be provided by N_A	34	
			N_P be provided in N_A	10	
			N_A provide N_P	3	
		N_A+stipulate+N_P	*N_P be stipulated in N_A*	61	
			N_P be stipulated by N_A	29	
			N_A stipulate N_P	1	
		N_A+ mention+N_P	*N_P be mentioned in N_A*	25	
		N_A+ set forth+N_P	*N_P be set forth in N_A*	18	
			N_P be set forth by N_A	3	
		N_A+ require+N_P	*N_P be required by N_A*	24	
		N_A+ refer to +N_P	*N_P be referred to in N_A*	15	
		N_A+define+N_P	*N_P be defined by N_A*	10	
			N_P be defined in N_A	4	
			N_A define N_P	1	
		N_A+ set+N_P	*N_P be set by N_A*	9	
		N_A+ vest+N_P	*N_P be vested by N_A*	9	
		N_A+fix+N_P	*N_P be fixed by N_A*	6	
			N_A+fix+N_P	2	
			N_P be fixed in N_A	1	
		N_A+designate+N_P	*N_P be designated by N_A*	8	
			N_A designate N_P	1	
		N_A+ lay down+N_P	*N_P be laid down by N_A*	3	
			N_P be laid down in N_A	2	
		N_A+govern+N_P	*N_P be governed by N_A*	3	
		N_A+formulate+N_P	*N_P be formulated by N_A*	2	
			N_A formulate N_P	1	
		N_A+list+N_P	*N_P be listed in N_A*	2	
			N_P be listed by N_A	1	
		N_A+agree+N_P	*N_P be agreed in N_A*	2	
		N_A+quote+N_P	*N_P be quoted by N_A*	1	
		N_A+institute+N_P	*N_P be instituted by N_A*	1	
		N_A+grant+N_P	*N_P be granted by N_A*	1	
		N_A+describe+N_P	*N_P be described in N_A*	1	
		N_A+approve+N_P	*N_P be approved by N_A*	1	
		N_A+adopt+N_P	*N_P be adopted by N_A*	1	
		N_A+include+N_P	*N_P be included in N_A*	1	
			N_A include N_P	1	
		N_A+work out+N_P		1	
		N_A+impose+N_P		1	
		N_A+determine+N_P	*N_P be determined by N_A*	1	
	Others (138)	No translation		74	11%
		NP (provision, regulation, sanction, requirement)		62	
		Adjective		2	

It is interesting to observe that 1060 occurrences of the translation equivalents of *guiding* in the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P> occurred in a probable monovalent valency pattern <N_A+V>, as exemplified in Example (146).

146) 采用抽样方式核定损程度的, 应当符合有关部门规定的抽样技术规范。
［有关　部门］　规定　的　［抽样　技术 规范］
[*youguan bumen*]　*guiding*　*de*　[*chouyang jishu guifan*]
[relevant department] prescribe PAR [sampling technical standard]

146t) Where the sampling method is adopted to assess and determine the extent of damage, the insurance institution shall comply with the technical standards on sampling as prescribed [by relevant departments].

146r) Where the sampling method is adopted to assess and determine the extent of damage, the insurance institution shall comply with the technical standards on sampling as [they] are prescribed [by relevant departments].

As shown in sentence (146t), the translation equivalent *prescribe* can occur in an intransitive structure without the object. However, the conjunction 'as' and the past participle form of the verb *prescribe* indicate that something involved in the action apart from the agent is omitted in sentence (146t); it can be easily retrieved from the context that the subject of *prescribe* in this passive clause is "the technical standards on sampling". The conjunction 'as' is used for saying that something happens or is done in the same way and it can be replaced by 'in the way in which'. Thus, "as prescribed by relevant departments" could be rewritten as "as they are prescribed by relevant departments" as in sentence (146r).

Furthermore, as can be seen in Table 7-16, twenty English verbs are used with this pattern in the corpus, but many of them are only shown as transitive verbs in the *Oxford Dictionary Online*; this indicates that these verbs actually occur with an object in active sentences. Francis *et al.* (1996) pointed out that transitive verbs are used without an object only when the object has already been mentioned and can be retrieved from the context. For this reason, the monovalent pattern <N_A+V> is rejected for these verbs and they are categorized into the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P>.

One possible interpretation of this syntactic structure (with the object complement omitted in the translation) is that it is related to the syntactic complementation of *guiding* in the original legal

texts. For the verb *guiding*, the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> has two slightly different syntactic forms: one with the particle '*de*' and the other without '*de*'. The difference between these two structures concerns the expected effectiveness of the act. As discussed in the previous section, '*de*' in such a structure is a relative clause marker, indicating that the words preceding it are the modifier of the noun phrase following it. Thus, *guiding* occurring with '*de*' is part of the relative clause which is used to modify the noun phrase following '*de*'. Although the modified noun phrase is semantically the object of *guiding*, it does not directly follow *guiding* and it is rarely realized as an action noun, so it carries no implication that something should be done. By contrast, *guiding* in the structure without '*de*' implies that the speaker wants people of a certain category to know what should be done and expects that the desired action will be carried out.

Note that the syntactic frames of *guiding* certainly determine the choice of syntactic patterns of the translation equivalents of *guiding*. *Guiding* in the structure with '*de*' is much more common in the corpus than the structure without '*de*'. For *guiding* in the structure with '*de*', the translation equivalents predominantly occurred in the passive divalent patterns with the object complement omitted, as in Example (146). However, when *guiding* occurred in the divalent pattern without '*de*', it was often translated into a divalent pattern with both subject and object complements presented, mainly in the passive and occasionally in the active.

Finally, although there is is a large difference in the frequency of occurrences between two syntactic patterns of *guiding*, there are similar complementation patterns in the translation equivalents for *guiding* in both patterns. Notably, 89% of 1307 occurrences of *guiding* are translated into verbs and, moreover, verbs taking the same valency sentence patterns as *guiding* in the original with a subject and an object complement: <N_A+V+N_P>.

As *guiding* in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> focuses more on causing people to know something rather than causing people to do something, it is mainly translated into verbs without the intention to cause people to do something, such as *specify*, *provide (for)*, *stipulate*, *set forth*, *set*, *define* and *lay down*.

Looking at Table 7-16, the most frequent translation equivalent for *guiding* in this pattern is *specify*, as in Example (147), with 412 occurrences, accounting for 32% of all English translations of *guiding* in this pattern. This is followed by *prescribe*, as in Example (146) above, with 355 occurrences, making 27% of all translation equivalents of *guiding*.

147) [本法] 规定 的 [管理人 的 职权] 由 债务人 行使。
[*benfa*] *guiding* *de* [*guanliren* *de* *zhiquan*] *you zhaiwuren xingshi*
[This law] prescribe PAR [administrator PAR power] by debtor exercise

147t) The functions and powers to be exercised by the administrator as specified [by this Law] shall be exercised by the debtor.

147r) The functions and powers to be exercised by the administrator as [they] are specified [by this Law] shall be exercised by the debtor.

As Table 7-16 shows, the translation equivalents *provide (for)* and *stipulate*, which focus more on formally causing people to know something, are also considerably frequent in the English translation, as shown in Examples (148) and (149).

148) 符合 [本法] 规定 的 [设立条件] 的, …
fuhe [*benfa*] *guiding* *de* [*sheli tiaojian*] *de*
Comply with [this law] prescribe PAR [establishment condition], PAR

148t) If the application satisfies the establishment conditions provided for [herein], …

148r) If the application satisfies [the establishment conditions that] are provided for [in this law], …

149) [章程] 规定 的 [其他 权利]。
[*zhangcheng*] *guiding* *de* [*qita quanli*]
[Charter] prescribe PAR [other rights]

149t) Other rights as are stipulated in the charter.

149r) Other rights as they are stipulated in the charter.

As discussed in the previous section, the verb phrase *provide for* when used in the imperative sense in legal discourse is concerned exclusively with making it possible for something to be done (*Oxford Dictionary Online*). Generally speaking, *provide for* with an imperative meaning can only be used in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> and cannot take target people as its direct object. As the subject complement of *provide for* is often a piece of legislation or regulation, it is either introduced by the preposition ‘in’ or ‘by’ in a passive sentence.

It is important to show that *stipulate*, in contrast to *provide for*, is expected to cause the target people to know that something must be done or how it must be done by saying it firmly and clearly. Furthermore, *stipulate* can be used in three different syntactic patterns to convey this meaning: <N_A+V+N_P>, <N_A+V+ that-clause> and <N_A+V+Wh-clause>. However, only the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> was observed for the verb *stipulate* in the parallel corpus, which suggests that the syntactic patterns for *stipulate*, which are the same or similar to *guiding*, are more likely to be chosen in translation.

The divalent pattern of *guiding*, <N_P+you N_A+V>, is less frequent in the parallel corpus than the pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, as can be seen in Table 7-17. This divalent pattern of *guiding* consists of a noun complement acting as the object and a prepositional complement '*you*' functioning as the subject.

Table 7-17 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *guiding* in the pattern <N_P+you N_A+V>

Chinese verb *guiding*	**English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus**				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
N_P+you N_A+V (254)	Divalent	N_A+formulate+N_P	*N_P be formulated by N_A*	106	100%
			N_A formulate N_P	3	
		N_A+prescribe+N_P	*N_P be prescribe by N_A*	51	
		N_A+specify+N_P	*N_P be specified by N_A*	20	
			N_P be specified in N_A	10	
			N_A specify N_P	1	
		N_A+stipulate+N_P	*N_P be stipulated by N_A*	27	
			N_A stipulate N_P	2	
			N_P be stipulated in N_A	1	
		N_A+determine +N_P	*N_P be determined by N_A*	7	
		N_A+set forth+N_P	*N_P be set forth in N_A*	4	
			N_P be set forth by N_A	2	
			N_A set forth N_P	1	
		N_A+define+N_P	*N_P be defined by N_A*	2	
			N_A define N_P	1	
		N_A+establish +N_P	*N_P be established by N_A*	3	
		N_A+provide (for) +N_P	*N_P be provided for by N_A*	3	
		N_A+enact +N_P	*N_P be enacted by N_A*	2	
		N_A+unify+N_P	*N_P be unified by N_A*	1	
			N_A unify N_P	1	
		N_A+designate +N_P	*N_P be designated by N_A*	1	
		N_A+design +N_P	*N_P be designed by N_A*	1	
		N_A+develop +N_P	*N_P be developed by N_A*	1	
		N_A+fix+N_P	*N_P be fixed by N_A*	1	
		N_A+govern+N_P	*N_P be governed by N_A*	1	
		N_A+make +N_P		1	

In the parallel corpus, the most frequent verb to appear as the translation equivalent of *guiding* in the divalent pattern <N_P+you N_A+V> is *formulate*, with 109 occurrences, accounting for 43% of the translation equivalents, as in Example (150).

150) [农民 专业 合作社 登记 办法] [由 国务院] 规定。
[*nongmin zhuanye hezuoshe dengji banfa*] [*you guowuyuan*] *guiding*
[Peasant specialized cooperatives registration measures] [by State Council] prescribe

150t) [The measures for registration of specialized farmers cooperatives] shall be formulated [by the State Council].

As will become clear in this section, the occurrences and frequencies of *formulate* as the translation equivalent for *guiding* in four different valency sentence patterns vary greatly. *Formulate* is considerably more frequent than other verbs as the translation equivalent for *guiding* in the divalent pattern <N_P+you N_A+V>. By contrast, *formulate* is very rarely used as the translation equivalent for *guiding* in the other three valency sentence patterns: there is one instance of *formulate* as the translation equivalent for *guiding* in the monovalent pattern <V+N> (see Table 7-15), three instances in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> (see Table 7-16) and no instances in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+Clause> (see Table 7-18). Again, this finding highlights the correlation between the syntactic patterns of *guiding* and the choice of translation equivalents for *guiding*.

The differences in frequency are the direct result of the complementation patterns of the Chinese verb *guiding* and the discourse functions that the syntactic structures serve. When *guiding* is used in the divalent pattern with the preposition '*you*', '*you*' introduces the doer of the action, and enables the receiver of the action to be put in the beginning of the sentence as the subject of *guiding*. In this structure, the relationship between the receiver, the doer and the verb *guiding* seems like more a topic-comment structure with the receiver being the topic, and the doer and *guiding* being the comment about the topic, rather than anything performed on the receiver. In this use, *guiding* can take a human or a non-human subject and it implies some specific information about the subject. Thus, the effect created by *guiding* in this syntactic pattern is slightly different from other patterns.

The English verb *prescribe* is the second most frequent translation equivalent for *guiding* for the valency sentence pattern <N_P+you N_A+V> and it occurs only in the passive form of the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, as shown in Example (151).

151) [收费 标准] [由 国务院 价格 主管部门] 规定。
[*shoufei biaozhun*] [*you guowuyuan jiage zhuguan bumen*] *guiding*
[Fee-charging rate] [by State Council price administration department] prescribe

151t) [The fee-charging rates] shall be prescribed [by the competent price department of the State Council].

151b) [They] shall prescribe [these].

Unlike *formulate*, *prescribe* is also frequently used as a translation equivalent for *guiding* within other valency sentence patterns. *Specify* and *stipulate* are also frequently used to express the meaning of *guiding* in the divalent pattern <N_P+you N_A+V>. Both of these occurred only in divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> and predominantly in the passive, as shown in Examples (152) and (153).

152) [保密 专利 申请 的 审查、 复审 以及保密 专利权 无效
[*baomi zhuanli shenqing de shencha fushen yiji baomi zhuanliquan wuxiao*
[Confidential patent application PAR examination, review and confidential patents invalidity
宣告 的 特殊 程序], [由 国务院 专利 行政 部门] 规定。
xuangao de teshu chengxu] [*you guowuyuan zhuanli xingzheng bumen*] *guiding*
declaration PAR special procedure] [by State Council patent administration department] prescribe

152t) [Special procedures for the examination, review, and declaration of invalidity of confidential patents] shall be specified [by the patent administration department under the State Council].

152b) [They] shall specify [these]

153) ［国有 资本 经营 预算 管理 的 具体 办法 和 实施步骤］，［由
[*guoyou ziben jingying yusuan guanli de juti banfa he shishi buzhou*] [*you*
[State owned capital operation budget management PAR specific measures and procedures] [by
国务院］ 规定。
guowuyuan] *guiding*
State Council] prescribe

153) [Specific measures and procedures for the implementation of State-owned capital operating budget management] shall be stipulated [by the State Council].

153b) [They] shall stipulate [these].

In these two examples, the stress of *guiding* in the valency sentence pattern <N_P+you N_A+V> is on the people (introduced by '*you'*) who are required to perform the action of *guiding* rather than getting certain type of people to know what they should do. The illocutionary intention of *guiding* in this specific context could be accurately expressed with *specify* and *stipulate*, stating what is required as a condition or requirement in a statute. The research findings suggest that the meaning of *guiding* is essentially limited by the valency complements in which it is used. The choice of the translation equivalents largely depends on the immediate verbal environment of the SAVs.

The analysis so far has shown that *guiding* in the pattern <N_P+you N_A+V> has a variety of verbs which are used as its translation equivalents, but all these verbs typically occur in the passive form of the divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P>. The main factor governing the dominating use of the passive form of the divalent pattern could be the syntactic structure of *guiding*. Although the '*you*' structure – with the receiver of the action being put in the beginning of the sentence as the subject – has no passive meaning, the syntactic pattern is fairly similar to the passive structure in English. Thus, as Table 7-17 shows, 245 (96%) of all occurrences of *guiding* in the pattern <N_P+you N_A+V> in the parallel corpus are translated into a passive structure in English.

In total, 98 instances of *guiding* in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+Clause> are found in the parallel corpus. As discussed in Section 5.3.1, *guiding* cannot take target people as its direct object. When the speaker wants to say that someone should do something, *guiding* is often used in the pattern <N_A+V+Clause>. *Guiding* in that pattern emphasizes the speaker's desire for causing the target people to know what they should do and the expectation that they do it. This means *guiding* in this pattern is more action-oriented than information-oriented.

The parallel corpus has a number of translation equivalents for *guiding* in the pattern <N_A+V+Clause>, including *specify*, *prescribe*, *stipulate*, *require*, *provide (for)*, *determine*, *set forth* and *establish*, which all occur in divalent patterns, either <N_A+V+N_P> or <N_A+V+that-clause>. The valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *guiding* in this divalent pattern are illustrated in Table 7-18.

Table 7-18 Valency sentence patterns of the translation equivalents of *guiding* in the pattern <N_A+V+Clause>

Chinese verb *guiding*	English translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus				
Valency patterns	**Valency patterns**			**Total**	**%**
N_A+V+Clause (98)	Divalent	N_A+specify+that-clause		31	86%
		N_A+prescribe+ that-clause		9	
		N_A+stipulate+that-clause		8	
		N_A+require+N_P	*N_P be required by N_A*	8	
			N_A require N_P	2	
		N_A+provide (for) +N_P	*N_P be provided for by N_A*	7	
		N_A+specify+N_P	*N_A specify N_P*	3	
			N_P be specified by N_A	3	
			N_P be specified in N_A	2	
		N_A+stipulate+N_P	*N_A stipulate N_P*	2	
			N_P be stipulated by N_A	2	
		N_A+determine+N_P	*N_P be determined by N_A*	2	
		N_A+provide +that-clause		1	
		N_A+set forth+N_P		1	
		N_A+prescribe++N_P		1	
		N_A+mandate+N_P	*N_P be mandated by N_A*	1	
		N_A+establish+N_P	*N_P be established by N_A*	1	
	Others	NP (*provision, regulation*)		7	14 %
		No translation		7	

As can be seen in Table 7-18, the English verb *specify* occurred most frequently as a translation equivalent of *guiding* for the pattern <N_A+V+Clause>. Its use in English is mainly with a *that*-clause, with 31 occurrences, as shown in Examples (154) and (155)

154) [草案] 规定 [旅行社 不得 以低于 成本 的 价格招徕、 组织、
[*cao'an*] *guiding* [*lüxingshe bude yi diyu chengben de jiage zhaolai zuzhi*
[Draft] prescribe [travel agency shall not at lower than cost PAR price tout organize
接待 旅游者]。
jiedai lüyouzhe]
receive tourists]

154t) [The draft] specifies [that travel agencies shall not tout, organize or receive tourists at prices lower than costs].

154b) [It] specifies [*that*-clause].

155) [国家] 规定 [其经营 范围 需 经 有关 主管 部门 批准 的], …。
[*guojia*] *guiding* [*qi jingying fanwei xu jing youguan zhuguan bumen pizhun de*]
[the State] prescribe [business scope need by relevant competent department approve PAR]

155t) If [the State] specifies [that the business scope is subject to approval of the relevant competent departments], …

155b) [They/It] specifies [*that*-clause]

The illocutionary purposes of *guiding* in Examples (154) and (155) are to cause people of a certain category (e.g. people who work in travel agencies) to know what they should do and the lawmakers expect these addressees to comply with their wishes and perform the desired action. The clauses following *guiding* in both examples indicate the desired action. Equivalent syntactic structures <N_A+V+that-clause> are chosen in the translations to convey the illocutionary purpose and the content of the message in the original.

Stipulate, *prescribe* and *require* are also frequently used as translation equivalents when *guiding* occurs with a clause. Similar to *specify*, *prescribe* and *stipulate* are most frequently used in the divalent pattern that consists of an object complement realized by a *that*-clause, as demonstrated in Examples (156) and (157).

156) [法律] 规定 [特定 事项 由 行政 法规 规定 具体 管理
[*falü*] *guiding* [*teding shixiang you xingzheng fagui guiding juti guanli*
[law] prescribe [specific matter by administrative regulation prescribe specific administration
措施], …
cuoshi]
measure]

156t) If [the law] prescribes [that the specific administration measures for a specific matter shall be prescribed by the administrative regulations],…

156b) [It] prescribes [*that*-clause]

157) [法律、行政 法规] 规定 [其他监督管理 部门 或者 机构 对 外
[*falü xingzheng fagui*] *guiding* [*qita jiandu guanli bumen huozhe jigou dui wai*
[Law administrative regulation] prescribe [other regulatory department or agency to foreign-
资 银行 及 其活动 实施监督 管理] 的, …。
zi yinhang ji qi huodong shishi jiandu guanli] *de*
invested bank and its activity supervise manage] PAR

157t) In case of [other provisions of laws and administrative regulations] stipulating [that other regulatory departments or agencies shall supervise and administer foreign-invested banks and their activities],….

157b) [These] stipulate [*that*-clause]

As shown in Examples (156) and (157), *guiding* occurred in the divalent pattern with a verbal clause which indicates the desired action that the lawmakers want persons of the specified kind to

do. The translator chose a divalent pattern with a *that*-clause corresponding to the structure used in the original. The translator's choice of *prescribe* and *stipulate* in the equivalent valency patterns is semantically and stylistically proper.

Interestingly, the translation equivalent *require* shows a different syntactic pattern. It occurred only within the valency sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P>. Eight (80%) of the ten occurrences of *require* were in the passive, as in Example (158).

158) [法律]<u>规定</u> 或者 合伙 协议 约定 [合伙人 必须具有 相关 资格],
[*falü*] <u>*guiding*</u> *huozhe hehuo* *xieyi* *yueding* [*hehuoren bixu juyou xiangguan zige*]
[Law] <u>prescribe</u> or partnership agreement specify [partner must have relevant qualification],
而 该 继承人 未 取得 该 资格;
er *gai jichengren wei qude* *gai* *zige*
but this successor not have this qualification

158t) The successor does not have the qualifications to be a partner, as <u>is required</u> [by the laws or the partnership agreement];

158r) The successor does not have the qualifications to be a partner, as [it] <u>is required</u> [by the laws or the partnership agreement];

158b) [They] require [it]

As can be seen in Example (158), the verbal clause complement of *guiding* expresses the obligation of the target people: they must have relevant qualification. However, the translator chose a nominalized structure as the complement of *require*, which may cause semantic ambiguities in the expressed obligation. In the translation, it is not clear what is required: an action caused by the agent (partners having relevant qualifications) or a state of affairs (qualifications).

Require seems to be chosen as a translation equivalent based on semantic grounds. Although the primary concern of *guiding* is to cause people of a certain category to know what they should do, when *guiding* is used in the syntactic pattern with a verbal clause complement, it seems that *guiding* has the implication that the speaker expects the target peple to do what they should do. In this respect, *guiding* is close to *require* and the semantic meaning of *guiding* is, to a large extent, reproduced in the English translation.

The more frequent use of *that*-clause complements for the translation equivalents of *guiding* with a verbal clause complement in the parallel corpus suggests that the syntactic pattern of *guiding* is one of the major factors that governs the choice of translation equivalents and their valency sentence patterns.

In summary, based on the above discussion, it can be stated that the semantic meanings expressed by *guiding* with different syntactic patterns are slightly different, which seems to have an impact on the choice of preferred translation equivalent for each valency sentence pattern of *guiding*. When *guiding* occurs in a relative clause with only one complement (an object complement), *prescribe* is most likely to be the preferred translation equivalent. When *guiding* occurs within the patterns <N_A+V+N_P> and <N_A+V+clause>, *specify* is most likely to be chosen as the translation equivalent. When *guiding* occurs in the divalent pattern with prepositional complement '*you*', the chosen translation equivalent will most likely be *formulate*.

7.2.6.3 Comparison of the valency sentence patterns of *guiding* and the translation equivalents of *guiding*

In this section I analyze whether the valency sentence patterns of the SAV *guiding* in the original texts are, to some degree, an indicator for the choice of translation equivalents and their valency sentence patterns. The translation equivalents for each valency sentence pattern of *guiding* are categorized into four groups: translation equivalents which are verbs occurring in the same or similar valency sentence patterns as the original, translation equivalents which are verbs occurring in different valency sentence patterns, translation equivalents which are nouns or adjectives (and therefore different valency sentence patterns to the original), and where no translation equivalent can be identified, as listed in Table 7-19. The highest frequency and percentage of the category of translation equivalents are highlighted in grey.

Table 7-19 Comparison of valency sentence patterns of *guiding* and its translation equivalents

Valency sentence patterns of *guiding*	Valency sentence patterns of English translation equivalents	Total	Percentage
$V+N_P$ (135)	$V+N_P$	6	4 %
	Past participle modifiers	123	91%
	Noun	2	2%
	No translation	4	3%
N_A+V+N_P (1307)	N_A+V+N_P	1169	89%
	Noun	62	5%
	Adjective	2	0%
	No translation	74	6%
N_A+You N_P+V (254)	N_A+V+N_P	254	100%
N_A+V+ Clause (98)	N_A+V+that-clause	50	51%
	N_A+V+N_P	34	35%
	Noun	7	7%
	No translation	7	7%
Total		1794	

As can be seen from Table 7-19, the Chinese directive SAV *guiding* occurred in four types of valency sentence patterns in the parallel corpus. With the exception of the monovalent patterns, the translation equivalents of *guiding* in the other three valency sentence patterns predominantly occurred with the same or equilvalent valency sentence patterns as *guiding*.

For *guiding* with a prepositional complement '*you*', all occurrences of the translation equivalents of *guiding* occurred in the divalent pattern consisting of two nominal complements with one functioning as the subject and the other as the object. There is no direct equivalent syntactic structure in English for the '*you*' structure. Due to the fact that there is a similarity between the divalent patterns with prepositional complement '*you*' and the English passive structures, *guiding* in this pattern is often translated into a passive structure and '*you*' is replaced by the English preposition '*by*'. The divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P> in English is therefore considered the equivalent of the valency sentence patterns <N_P+you N_A+V> in Chinese.

Altogether there are 1479 occurrences of translation equivalents with the same or equivalent syntactic patterns as *guiding*, making up 98% of all occurrences of translation equivalents as verbs, and only 34 occurrences of translation equivalents occurring with different valency patterns than *guiding*, accounting for 2%. As suggested by these results, despite the wide range of translation

equivalents for the Chinese directive SAV *guiding*, they all have an extremely high likelihood of occurring with the same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as *guiding*.

Figure 7-3 represents the percentage distributions of the four different categories of translation possibility for all types of valency sentence patterns of *guiding* in the parallel corpus.

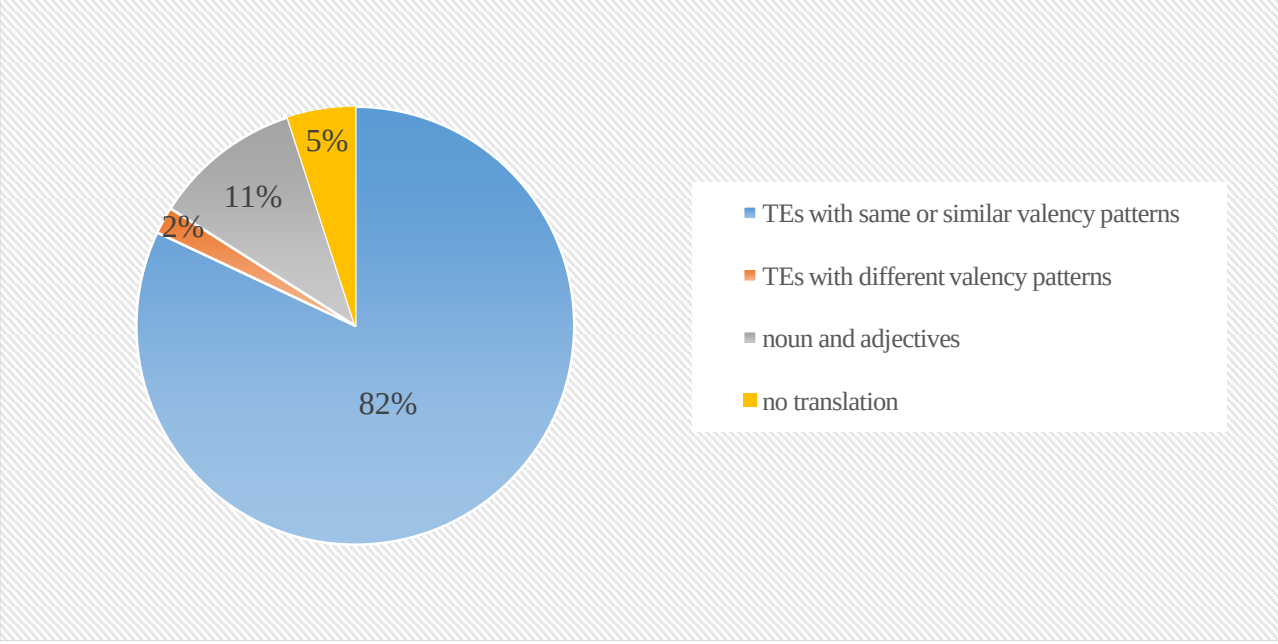

Figure 7-3 Percentage of translation equivalents of *guiding* in each category of syntactic structures

As can be seen in Figure 7-3, 82% of all occurrences of *guiding* were translated into verbs that occurred with same or equivalent valency sentence patterns, while only 2% of the occurrences were translated by a verb that occurred with different valency sentence patterns.

It is worth noting that 11% of all occurrences of *guiding* were translated as nouns or adjectives. The key to explaining the high rate of nouns and adjectives lies in the typical use of the past participle form of verbs such as *prescribed*, *specified* and *required*. The result shows that *guiding* occurring with the monovalent pattern <V+N_P> is most likely to be expressed with a past participle modifier that precedes the noun. Although these verbs in the past participle form are often categorized as adjectives, their usage is indeed very similar to *guiding* within the monovalent patterns. Syntactically, *guiding* in such patterns is treated as a relative clause and it also functions

as a modifier to the noun phrase following it. Furthermore, semantically, the meaning of the original text is accurately conveyed by the verbs in the past participle form.

If these past participles are included as translation equivalents with the same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as the original, the relatively high rate of noun and adjective translation equivalents will be dramatically reduced. However, since these past participles function as pre-modifying adjectives to nouns, it is more acceptable to categorize them as adjectives.

The results also show that 5% of occurrences of *guiding* were omitted in the translation, as in Examples (159) and (160).

159) 申请人发现提交的说明书、权利要求书或者附图中的文字的中文译文存在错误的, 可以在下列规定期限内依照原始国际申请文本提出改正;

规定 [期限] 内
guiding [*qixian*] *nei*
prescribe [time limit] within

159t) he or it may correct the translation in accordance with the initial international application as filed <u>within the following time limits</u>;

160) 违反法律、行政法规和企业章程规定的决策程序, 决定企业重大事项的;

[法律、行政 法规 和 企业 章程] <u>规定</u> 的
[*falü* *xingzheng* *fagui* *he* *qiye* *zhangcheng*] <u>*guiding*</u> *de*
[law administrative regulation and enterprise articles of association] <u>prescribe</u> PAR

[决策程序]
[*juece chengxu*]
[decision-making procedure]

160t) Violating <u>laws, administrative regulations and articles of association</u> when deciding major matters of the enterprise; or

In Example (159), *guiding* in the original creates a legal force aiming at causing people to know that they should do something within time limits. However, *guiding* is omitted in the translation. As a result, the information content and the emphasis on the prescribed time limits is not accurately conveyed in the translation. In Example (160), the divalent structure of *guiding*, $<N_A+V+N_P>$, denotes the agent of *guiding* (laws, administrative regulations and articles of association) and the

desired state of affairs (the decision-making procedure). In translating, the translator omits rendering *guiding* and the desired state of affairs of *guiding*, which seems to distort the meaning of the original message and change the legal effect produced by *guiding* in the divalent pattern in the original. The translator's choice to omit rendering *guiding* in the translation is perhaps due to their consideration of the information as redundant and recoverable from the context. However, an arbitrary omission without considering the meaning and function of *guiding* in the original may result in misrepresenting the original meaning and misinterpreting the SAV's legal effects, as shown in Example (160).

This comparative analysis of the valency sentence patterns of *guiding* and those of its translation equivalents has shown that the complementation patterns of *guiding* in the original texts is one of the major factors that governs the choice of translation equivalent. Many other factors also play a role in the presence or absence of certain complements of the chosen translation equivalents, including syntagmatic economy (i.e. the translator's consideration of whether the complements can be retrieved from the context instead), avoiding ambiguity and being concise, and stylistic considerations.

7.3 Comparative analysis of the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling*, *xialing*, *zeling* and *guiding*

Looking into the translation equivalents identified for these examined Chinese directive SAVs *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling*, *xialing*, *zeling* and *guiding* in the parallel corpus, the research findings have shown that there is an overlap between these translation equivalents and those found in bilingual dictionaries. Moreover, the translation equivalents with high frequencies of occurrence in the corpus are all listed in the dictionaries. But the corpus findings also reveal that considerably more translation possibilities were used in the corpus than in bilingual dictionaries. Two key examples are *yaoqiu* and *guiding*.

In the parallel corpus, a wide range of English translation equivalents for the Chinese directive SAV *yaoqiu* were observed, including verbs (e.g. *require*, *request*, *demand*, *claim*, *ask*, *order*),

nouns (e.g. *request*, *claim*, *requirement* and *application*) and instances where no translation equivalent was used in the English texts. However, the additional translation equivalents not found in bilingual dictionaries, *invite*, *suggest*, *call for*, *wish* and *intend*, only occurred once each in the parallel corpus, which suggests that it is not common to use these verbs as translation equivalents for *yaoqiu*, and these occurrences are more likely to be based on personal, creative preferences of the translators.

A wide range of translation possibilities were also identified for *guiding* amongst that verb's 1794 occurrences in the parallel corpus. Notably, 84% of all occurrences of *guiding* were translated as a verb. Altogether 35 different English verbs or verbal phrases were identified as possible translation equivalents for *guiding*, as listed in Table 7-14, including *specify*, *prescribe*, *provide (for)*, *stipulate*, *formulate*, *require*, *set forth*, *mention*, *define*, *refer to*, *designate*, *determine*, *fix*, *set*, *vest*, *lay down*, *establish*, *govern*, *list*, *enact*, *unify*, *include* and *agree*. A large number of the identified translation equivalents are not listed as translation equivalents of *guiding* in the bilingual dictionaries.

The wider variety of translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus might be due to the translators' consideration of the semantic meaning of the Chinese directive SAVs, contextual information in the legal genre, each translator's personal preferences or their misinterpretation. Some Chinese directive SAVs and their English translation equivalents differ in specific conceptualizations of speech acts, although they are similar in certain semantic components. As a result, the translation equivalents, in many cases, cannot fulfil the same function as the Chinese directive SAVs in the original.

Moreover, since the choice of translation equivalent is to a large degree subjective and generally based on the translator's personal interpretation of the source text, quantitative information is an important indication of the reliability of a translation equivalent. If a verb is used recurrently as the translation equivalent for a Chinese directive SAV in the parallel corpus, it is more likely to be viewed as an appropriate translation equivalent of the Chinese directive SAV in legislative texts. If the use of the verb in the parallel corpus is extremely rare (one occurrence or less), it obviously

decreases its potential to be considered as a translation equivalent of the Chinese SAV in the legal genre.

Here, the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *xialing*, *zhiling*, *zeling* and *guiding* will be compared to investigate the extent to which these synonymous (or near-synonymous) directive SAVs share their translation equivalents. The translation equivalents of these verbs from the parallel corpus are summarized in Table 7-20, and only translation equivalents as verbs or verb phrases are included. Since the translations of *xialing* as 'give/issue orders' are considered a normalized structure of *order*, they are not listed in the table below and excluded from the further discussion.

The corpus data shows that semantically closely related Chinese directive SAVs display appreciable differences in their preferred translation equivalents in English. As can be seen in Table 7-20, the verbs *guiding*, *yaoqiu* and *zeling* have a much greater variety of translation equivalents than *zhiling* and *zecheng* do. This difference might be caused by the large difference in the frequencies of occurrences among these verbs. As discussed earlier in Section 6.5, the corpus had 1794 occurrences of the verb *guiding* in total, making it more than two times more frequent than *zeling* and, more than four times more frequent than *yaoqiu*. The three Chinese verbs *xialing*, *zhiling* and *zecheng* are exceedingly rare in the corpus, each with less than ten occurrences. It is reasonable to assume that the verbs with higher frequency of occurrences in the original texts are more likely to have more variety of translation possibilities in the corpus.

As can be seen from Table 7-20, the five Chinese SAVs *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling*, *zeling* and *guiding* each have their own preferred translation equivalents and no translation equivalents are shared by the five verbs. One possible reason is the difference in word meaning and valency sentence patterns between these five verbs (see Table 6-11 for detailed information).

Table 7-20 Comparison of translations of *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling*, *xialing*, *zeling* and *guiding*

Translations	*yaoqiu*	*zecheng*	*zhiling*	*xialing*	*zeling*	*guiding*
require	√					√
request	√					
demand	√					
claim	√					
ask	√					
order	√	√	√		√	
invite	√					
suggest	√				√	
call for	√					
wish	√					
intend	√					
instruct		√	√		√	
direct			√			
enjoin					√	
compel					√	
specify						√
prescribe						√
provide (for)						√
stipulate						√
formulate						√
set (forth)						√
mention						√
define						√
refer to						√
designate						√
determine						√
fix						√
vest						√
lay down						√
establish						√
govern						√
list						√
enact						√
unify						√
include						√
agree						√
make						√
approve						√
adopt						√
design						√
work out						√
describe						√
institute						√
quote						√
develop						√
mandate						√
grant						√
impose						√

Notably, however, the translation equivalent *order* is shared by four of the five Chinese SAVs (*yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *zeling*), as highlighted in grey in Table 7-29. The four verbs shared the valency sentence patterns <N_A+V+N_P+VP> in the parallel corpus. Indeed, *zhiling* and *zecheng* occurred only in this trivalent sentence pattern which indicates the speaker's stress on the addressee's action (See Table 6-11). The corpus data shows that *order* is the preferred translation equivalent for *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *zeling* when they occur in this trivalent sentence pattern. In addition, the results also show that the three verbs *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *zeling* shared two translation equivalents: *order* and *instruct.* The findings suggest that synonymous directive SAVs tend to share translation equivalents when they occur in the same valency sentence patterns. Furthermore, it has shown that the sense of the directive Chinese SAVs is linked to their specific syntactic environment. Due to these connections, the sense of the SAVs and their complements both play an important role in determining their translation equivalent.

The contrastive analysis of the valency sentence patterns of the examined Chinese directive SAVs and their translation equivalents in the parallel corpus shows that English directive SAVs are much more given to the use of the passive voice than Chinese SAVs. It is suggested that for Chinese directive SAVs, great naturalism can often be achieved by transposition from the active mode to the passive in English translation, particularly when the agent of the original active verb is unstated.

Despite the differences in the syntax (passive voice) between the two languages, the corpus-based analysis reveals that the majority of the occurrences of the examined Chinese directive SAVs *yaoqiu*, *guiding*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *zeling*, in the parallel corpus were translated as verbs and these verbs predominantly occurred with the same or similar valency patterns as the Chinese SAVs in the original.

As shown in Table 7-15, with the exception of *yaoqiu* in the valency sentence pattern with verbal complements directly following it, the translation equivalents for *yaoqiu* predominantly occurred with the same or similar valency sentence patterns as *yaoqiu*. Altogether, 60% of occurrences of *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus were translated as verbs in the same or similar valency sentence patterns as *yaoqiu*.

In total, 95% of the occurrences of the Chinese directive SAV *zeling* in the corpus were translated as a verb, and 83% of the translation equivalents of *zeling* occurred in the same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as *zeling*. For example, as shown in Table 7-11 and Table 7-12, the preferred translation equivalents of *zeling* in both divalent and trivalent sentence patterns are *order* and *instruct* and these two English directive SAVs occurred most frequently in the same or equivalent divalent and trivalent patterns as *zeling*. In addition, the translation equivalents for *zeling* in passive structure with '*bei*' all occurred in passive structures.

Despite the low occurrences of *zecheng* and *zhiling*, the data also confirms that Chinese directive SAVs are more likely to be translated into directive SAVs in English and translators are more likely to use translation equivalents in similar valency sentence structures as the original Chinese SAVs. All the nine occurrences of the Chinese SAV *zecheng* and four occurrences of *zhiling* in the parallel corpus were translated as English directive SAVs. Six (67%) of the occurrences of *zecheng* were translated as *order* and three (33%) of these were translated as *instruct*. Two (50%) of the four occurrences of *zhiling* was translated into *instruct*, one (25%) was translated into *direct* and one (25%) was translated into *order*. The results show that all the English translation equivalents of *zecheng* and *zhiling* occurred in the same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as *zecheng* and *zhiling*, despite the slight difference in the realization form of the verbal complements between *zecheng* and *zhiling* (an uninflected verb phrase), and *order*, *direct* and *instruct* (*to*-infinitive verb phrase). These valency sentence patterns of the English translation equivalents reflect the semantic component of the speaker's focus on the addressee and the addressee's action, and therefore accurately convey the meaning of the message in the original.

Altogether there are 1479 occurrences of translation equivalents with valency patterns the same or equivalent as *guiding*'s patterns in the original texts, making up for 98% of all occurrences of translation equivalents as verbs. Only 34 occurrences of translation equivalents occur with valency patterns different to *guiding*'s, accounting for 2%. As suggested by these results, despite the wide range of translation equivalents for the Chinese directive SAV *guiding*, they all have an extremely high likelihood of occurring with the same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as *guiding*.

Based on the findings from the corpus data, I argue that Chinese directive SAVs are more likely to be translated into verbs with the same or similar valency sentence patterns, particularly when the verbs' preferred translation equivalents can take valency sentence structures equivalent to those in the original. In other words, whether or not the preferred translation equivalents have equivalent complementation patterns to a large extent accounts for the choice of the translation equivalents. A translation equivalent that requires no or less syntactic change is more likely to be chosen as a translation equivalent. Given this, the complete syntactic congruence between the Chinese directive SAVs and their translation equivalents are not surprising, considering that most of their preferred English translation equivalents are semantically similar to them and have the same or equivalent syntactic structures.

Most importantly, the above investigation has indicated that the different valency sentence patterns of the examined Chinese directive SAVs show different preferred translation equivalents. For example, as shown in Table 7-6, the preferred translation equivalents for the monovalent sentence pattern of *yaoqiu* <V+N_P> are *demand* and *claim*. The monovalent sentence pattern <V+VP> and the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P> have the preferred translation equivalents *require*, *demand* and *claim*. The divalent valency sentence pattern <V+N_P+VP> shows a preference for the translation equivalent *require*. The most frequent pattern of *yaoqiu*, <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, occurred with the widest variety of translation equivalents: *require*, *request*, *demand*, *ask* and *order*, which are all directive SAVs in English. Another frequent pattern, <N_A+V+VP> occurred mainly with four English directive SAVs, *require*, *request*, *demand* and *ask*.

Another typical example is *guiding* in the divalent patterns <N_A+V+N_P>. Two slightly different syntactic forms are observed for *guiding* in this divalent pattern: with the particle '*de*' and without '*de*'. The two structures reflect different semantic meanings. *Guiding* occurring with '*de*' is part of the relative clause used to modify the noun phrase following '*de*' and this structure does not carry implication that something should be done; by contrast, *guiding* in the structure without '*de*' implies that the speaker wants people of a certain category to know what they should do and expects that the desired action will be carried out. In the structure with the particle '*de*', the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* predominantly occurred in the passive divalent patterns with the object being

omitted. However, when *guiding* occurred in the divalent pattern without '*de*', it was often translated into divalent patterns with both the subject and object presented, mainly in the passive but occasionally in the active. Therefore, it appears that the choice of the syntactic patterns of the translation equivalents of the Chinese directive SAVs often corresponds with the semantic meaning of the Chinese SAVs, as reflected by their valency sentence patterns.

These findings support the claim that there is a correlation between the semantic and syntactic properties of directive SAVs. The corpus data reveals that the syntactic frames of the Chinese directive SAVs reflect their semantic meaning and, thus, dramatically determine the choice of the translation equivalents as well as the syntactic patterns of their translation equivalents. This gives empirical support to Alcaraz & Hughes' (2002, p. 37) consideration of valency complements of SAVs as an important type of context (an "immediate verbal environment"). Valency complements, which limit the sense of directive SAVs, enable translators to solve lexical ambiguity.

Furthermore, this chapter's comparison of the valency sentence patterns for the Chinese directive SAVs and their English translation equivalents has shown that a much lower proportion of the Chinese directive SAVs were translated into verbs with valency sentence patterns different from those of the Chinese SAVs. For example, the occurrences of *yaoqiu*, *zeling* and *guiding* which are translated as a verb with a different valency sentence patterns from the original account for 29%, 12% and 2% of the total occurrences, respectively. One possible interpretation of this could be that the preferred translation equivalents of these particular SAVs do not have possible valency sentence structures which are equivalent to the structures around the Chinese SAVs so they are forced to take on dissimilar structures. Alternatively, it could be that the preferred translation equivalents can take equivalent valency sentence structures in some contexts but not to express a directive speech act meaning. For example, the two translation equivalents for *xialing* in the pattern <N_A+V+VP> in the corpus are 'giving/ issuing orders to do something'. The translator's choice of these two translation equivalents is partly because the English directive SAVs which are translation equivalents of *xialing* (such as *order* and *decree*) cannot have an equivalent sentence structure to *xialing*.

It is particularly important to stress that not all the Chinese directive SAVs were translated as a verb, but rather the meaning in English was expressed with a noun or an adjective. For example, 12% of the 1794 occurrences of translation equivalents of *guiding* are translated into a past participle modifier (e.g. 'prescribed', 'specified' 'authorized', 'fixed', 'stipulated' and 'required'), a noun (e.g. 'provision', 'requirement', 'sanction' and 'regulation') and an adjective (e.g. 'statutory'). The choice of these expressions in the translation may be triggered by the grammatical features of the original, namely the ellipsis of the subjects or agents of the Chinese directive SAVs. The translator may choose an adjective, a past participle or a nominalized structure as an alternative expression to a passive finite clausal structure.

The corpus data also shows that frequently occurring prepositional complements for the examined Chinese directive SAVs tend to be translated into noun phrases. The choice of nominalized structures in the translation may also be motivated by the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy or stylistic consideration. The contrastive analysis has shown that faithfulness to the basic meaning is achieved in some instances where Chinese directive SAVs are translated into nouns and adjectives, but in many cases, the implied meaning and intended legal effect produced by the Chinese directive SAVs are not faithfully rendered. The transposition from a directive SAV to a noun or adjective in the translation is acceptable when both the verb and the noun or adjective possess the same semantic weight or equivalent effect. However, transposition can affect the accuracy of reproducing the grammatical functions and illocutionary force produced by the original Chinese SAVs, as it may cause alteration to the process by which speech acts are expressed or change the power relations imposed or assumed by the choice of SAV in the original. Therefore, the practice of using adjectives or nominalized structures as the translation equivalents of directive SAVs in legislative texts should be used with caution.

The corpus data has revealed that 'no translation identified' represents a translation possibility for the Chinese directive SAVs *yaoqiu*, *zeling* and *guiding* in the corpus. In total, 7% of all occurrences of *yaoqiu*, 1% of *zeling*, and 5% of *guiding* were omitted in the translation texts. The translator may choose to leave out a finite clausal structure of a Chinese directive SAV when he or she thinks the left-out information is recoverable from the context. However, the stating of directive SAVs

does not simply require people's understanding of what it postulates, but necessarily intends to produce or elicit states or actions in people. In other words, directive SAVs are used in legislative texts to perform directive speech acts which can influence or regulate the intentional behaviour of the general public or specific sectors of the public, usually to get them to perform an action primarily for the benefits of the common good (see further, Trosborg, 1991). Since in most cases the directive SAV is vital to the functioning of law by creating the legal force which cause the addressee to do the desired action, the omission of these SAVs in translation may lead to inaccurate meaning and loss of intended legal effect, and even hinder the cross-cultural communication of the function of legislative texts. As Zhang (2002) argues, legislative speech acts in Chinese statutes realized by performative verbs are explicit legislative speech acts, as the type of speech act that the utterance is used to perform is made explicit by the performative verbs. Leaving out the Chinese directive SAVs may render the meaning of the original text implicit or changed, and thus, should also be conducted with caution.

Finally, the contrastive analysis of the Chinese directive SAVs and their translation equivalents in the parallel corpus reveals that not all directive SAVs are translated accurately. The legislative texts "clearly entail a limitation of the lexical range of any acceptable translation of its specific terms" (Alcaraz & Hughes, 2002, p. 178). Mistranslation and inappropriate choice of translation equivalents may arise from the translator's partial understanding of the meaning of Chinese directive SAVs in the legal context, ambiguities in the meaning of the SAVs, and the lack of in-depth knowledge about the linguistic and cultural differences between legal English and legal Chinese. A notable example is that in the parallel corpus 20 occurrences of *yaoqiu* were translated into *ask*, but no occurrences were observed for the English verb *ask* in the corpus of original English legal texts. This indicates an empirical difference between English as original language and English as translated language in legal discourse. English legislative texts are characterized by the normative and performative nature of language in achieving the purpose of setting out obligations and regulating human behaviour by merely stating words, but *ask* is a modest and unassuming speech act and implies an uncertainty as to the outcome (Wierzbicka, 1987). In addition, the personal and informal character of *ask* is inconsistent with the impersonal and formal style of written legislative texts. Therefore, using *ask* as the translation equivalent of *yaoqiu* (as discovered

in the parallel corpus) is problematic. This problematic translation may be caused by the translator's lack of contrastive awareness of the distinct lexical features and style of English and Chinese legal language: the Chinese legal lexicon is characterized by common vocabulary with legal meanings and the use of general, vague and ambiguous terms; while the English legal lexicon is replete with archaic words, formal and ritualistic usage, and words of over-precision (Cao, 2007, p. 21). This suggests that linguistic differences in English and Chinese written legislative texts are a major source of difficulty in legal translation.

7.4 Summary

A comparison between the translation equivalents of the Chinese directive SAVs *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling*, *xialing*, *zeling* and *guiding* found in bilingual dictionaries and from the parallel corpus shows that there is an overlap between those observed in the parallel corpus and those found in bilingual dictionaries, and the translation equivalents with high frequencies of occurrence in the corpus are all listed in the dictionaries. However, considerably more translation possibilities were observed for *yaoqiu*, *zeling* and *guiding* in the corpus than in bilingual dictionaries. The wider variety of translation equivalents observed in the parallel corpus might be due to translators' consideration of the semantic meaning of the Chinese SAVs, contextual information from the legal genre, translators' personal preferences or their misinterpretation.

One of the most significant findings in this chapter's analysis relates to the preferences for translating not just equivalent verbs but equivalent valency sentence structures. The contrastive analyses of the valency sentence patterns of the examined Chinese directive SAVs and their translation equivalents in the parallel corpus reveal that the majority of the occurrences of the examined Chinese directive SAVs in the parallel corpus were translated as verbs and these verbs predominantly occurred with the same or similar valency patterns as the Chinese SAVs in the original. Based on the findings from the corpus data, I argue that the Chinese directive SAVs are more likely to be translated into verbs with the same or similar valency sentence patterns, particularly when the preferred translation equivalents have equivalent valency sentence structures. In other words, whether or not the preferred translation equivalents have equivalent

complementation patterns to a large extent accounts for the choice of the translation equivalents. A translation equivalent that requires no or less syntactic change is more likely to be chosen as a translation equivalent.

Furthermore, the above investigation has found that the different valency sentence patterns of the examined Chinese directive SAVs show different preferred translation equivalents, which suggests that the syntactic frames of the Chinese directive SAVs reflect their semantic meaning, as syntactic patterns seem to play a major role in determining the choice of translation equivalents as well as the syntactic patterns of the translation equivalents. The choice of the syntactic patterns of the translation equivalents of the Chinese directive SAVs is mainly associated with the valency sentence patterns of the Chinese directive SAVs, because the syntactic patterns are closely related to or reflect the semantic meaning.

Based on the analysis so far, it appears that the semantic meaning of the directive SAVs in different syntactic patterns may be, to a certain degree, different and there is an affinity between their semantic meaning and syntactic pattern. The semantic meanings of the directive SAVs closely correlate with their valency sentence patterns. This is supported by this chapter's findings that different valency sentence patterns have different preferred translation equivalents or different preferred valency sentence patterns for shared translation equivalents. The choice of the translation equivalents are, to a large extent, attributable to the semantic meaning of the Chinese directive SAVs in each type of syntactic pattern, as those translation equivalents with the same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as the Chinese SAVs are more likely to be chosen as the translation equivalents. Therefore, I have argued in this chapter that the valency sentence patterns of the Chinese directive SAVs can be used as clues to their semantic structure and are an indication for the choice of their best or most likely English translation equivalent in legislative texts.

Notably, the corpus data shows that not all the Chinese directive SAVs were translated as a verb, but that in some cases the meaning could be expressed in English using a noun or an adjective, or simply omitted in the translation. I offered the grammatical features of the original – for instance, the ellipsis of the subjects of the Chinese directive SAVs – as one interpretation explaining this

result. The translator may choose an adjective, a past participle or a nominalized structure as an alternative expression to a passive finite clausal structure. The choice of nominalized structures in the translation may also be triggered the translator's considerations of syntagmatic economy or stylistic consideration. A finite clausal structure of the Chinese directive SAVs might be left out when the translator thinks the left-out information is recoverable from the context. However, I cautioned against the practice of not translating Chinese directive SAVs or using a nominalized structure in the translation of a legal text.

Last but not least, a comparison of the translation equivalents of the examined Chinese directive SAVs has shown that the five Chinese SAVs – *yaoqiu, zecheng, zhiling, zeling* and *guiding* – each have their own preferred translation equivalents and no translation equivalents are shared by all five verbs. However, some of these synonymous verbs share a few translation equivalents. The findings suggest that synonymous directive SAVs tend to share translation equivalents when the original Chinese SAVs occur in the same valency sentence patterns. This finding also confirms the hypothesis that the sense of a Chinese directive SAVs is linked to its specific and immediate syntactic environment. Due to this connection, the sense of a Chinese SAV and its complements both play an important role in determining the possible and preferred English translation equivalents.

8 IMPLICATIONS

The previous chapters contrasted the semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns of synonyms or near-synonyms in the legal domain, between English and Chinese, by drawing on corpus data from one comparable corpus and from the parallel corpus. In this study, the synonyms being contrasted were all SAVs but the corpus-based componential and valency analysis methods, and the overarching contrastive, empirical approach to corpus-linguistic research, is not limited to this particular application. This chapter will address other potential applications of this methodology in areas of research relating to lexical studies and translation.

8.1 Implications for contrastive lexical studies

Cross-linguistic lexical semantic and syntactic studies usually have been carried out within the frameworks of cognitive linguistics, traditional contrastive lexical semantics, cultural linguistics or the Natural Semantic Metalanguage. These studies mainly depend on the introspection or intuition of the researcher without the support of empirical evidence. In this study, I have integrated a corpus-linguistic framework into a contrastive lexical study to compare and contrast the semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs based on empirical language data collected from naturally occurring legislative texts. With the corpus-based approach, this study has aimed to provide insight into the correlation between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives.

The research findings reveal that this approach can present great detail about the meaning and valency sentence patterns of the type of lexical item under study (here, directive SAVs), which can be helpful for distinguishing the subtle differences in meaning between synonymous and near-synonymous English and Chinese words within and across the two languages. The use of both comparable and parallel corpora to establish correspondences between the semantic meaning and valency sentence patterns of the English and Chinese directive SAVs offered quantitative information on the correlations between semantic and syntactic properties. Such qualitative and

quantitative findings, and the methodology with obtains them, are practically valuable to lexicography research as the detailed syntactic clues resulting from the data analysis can be utilized as an aid in identifying, or in evidencing, polysemy.

8.2 Implications for English-Chinese legal translation practices in relation to directive SAVs

Directive SAVs are considered one of the most important areas of the vocabulary of any language and one of the main means for describing culturally-specific human interaction and communication. There is no question that the directive SAVs studied in this project are recognized as crucial terms in legislative texts and have to be assimilated and dealt with in legal translation. One of the greatest difficulties encountered by a translator of legal texts, however, is the unfamiliarity of linguistic and socio-cultural characteristics of semantically similar English and Chinese directive SAVs. The research methods in the present study can shed some new light on the translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese, particularly in the legal genre.

Based on this study, translation ambiguities could be cleared up. This study shows how translators' linguistic and legal competence, as well as their basic knowledge of the characteristics of legal texts, are crucial for producing texts that can achieve the intended legal effects (affirming Šarčević, 2000); without these, unintended effects and unsatisfactory translations of the sort pointed out in this study can arise. Improved conceptualization, adaptation and stylistic adjustments could be achieved by translators by paying careful attention to context and relying on a thorough knowledge, especially of the sort provided through studies like this one, of the linguistic and extralinguistic features of directive SAVs with close semantic relations in English and Chinese. In this study, the comparable corpus provides a more objective source of evidence of how English and Chinese directive SAVs are actually used in legislative texts. The differences in the valency sentence patterns of the English and Chinese directive SAVs constructed from corpus evidence can be used to make legal translators aware of the distinctions between synonyms within and across languages and, accordingly, minimize translation mistakes. The aim in the following paragraphs is to draw

attention to some of the semantic and syntactic features of the examined directive SAVs which are most significant for improving the translation of legislative texts.

First of all, the contrastive analysis of the semantic components of English and Chinese directive SAVs indicates that English directive SAVs cover a wider conceptual range than Chinese directive SAVs do. No Chinese directive SAV contains within it the full semantic structure of any English directive SAV. Some Chinese directive SAVs that are viewed as the Chinese equivalents of some English directive SAVs in their basic structure contain the main semantic components of the English directive SAVs plus some additional components, while some Chinese SAVs contain the main components of the English directive SAVs minus some components. This can result in irreversible translation. In other words, some English directive SAVs and their Chinese translation equivalents are not reversible. For example, the Chinese verb *zhiling* and *zecheng* are often translated into *order*, but *order* is less likely to be translated into *zhiling* and *zecheng*. It is suggested that in translating directive SAVs between English and Chinese, careful decisions should be made by considering both linguistic and extralinguistic meanings along dimensions such as the speaker's intention, the power relationship between the speaker and addressee, the degree of optionality, the level of formality, the forcefulness and effectiveness of the legal acts created and the style of performance of the speech act, as all these factors contribute to the correct understanding and rendering of the meaning of directive SAVs.

In legislative texts, it is common to encounter similar linguistic predicaments where there apparently stand several possible English translations for a single Chinese SAV, such as the verbs *guiding* and *yaoqiu*. Determining translation equivalents for directive SAVs is semantically complex as it involves a wide range of translation equivalents that may have different meaning and produce different legal effects. When it comes to a better English translation, contrastive sememe analysis may serve as a feasible approach for judging the merits of each translation; integrating sememe analysis and valency analysis can keep the translation intact and accurate. Both conceptual or primary sememes and stylistic or secondary sememes should be given meticulous consideration to compare and contrast SAVs effectively.

Secondly, as the comparable corpus data suggests, the examined directive SAVs that are semantically similar in English or Chinese share certain valency sentence patterns, which reflect their shared semantic features. This suggests that the semantic meaning of each directive SAV is closely related to its syntactic patterns. Thus, the syntactic patterns of each directive SAV in the original can be used by translators as clues to that SAV's best semantic structure in the target text, including clues about the stress of SAVs, the force or strength of the speech acts denoted by SAVs, the distance between the speaker and the addressee (personal or impersonal), and style.

Furthermore, the quantitative information obtained in the parallel corpus is an important indication of the correlation between the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs. The research results show that semantically similar Chinese directive SAVs display appreciable similarities in their preferred translation equivalents in English when they occur in same valency sentence patterns, and the examined Chinese directive SAVs with different valency sentence patterns have different preferred translation equivalents. The correspondence between a specific valency sentence pattern and a translation equivalent suggests that the sense of a directive SAV is limited by its valency complements. This finding supports the assumption derived from the literature review that there is a correlation between the semantic and syntactic properties of directive SAVs. Therefore, the valency sentence patterns in which directive SAVs occur should always be taken into consideration in choosing translational equivalents. Simply using a certain English verb as the 'go-to' translation equivalent of a certain Chinese directive SAV without considering the immediate verbal environment in which the directive SAV is situated can lead to misinterpretation.

As Alcaraz & Hughes (2002, p. 159) have emphasized, "the translator must be particularly careful to take nothing for granted and to exercise extreme caution in selecting from among the various options apparently available". Directive SAVs in different valency sentence patterns may have different focuses and intentions and may have acquired additional meanings in the context of legislative texts, although these additional meanings may be, to a large degree, similar to the directive meaning. For example, *prescribe* is the most preferred translation equivalent of the Chinese verb *guiding*, but as this study's corpus data shows, when *guiding* is used in certain

patterns with the stress more on a certain state of affairs or outcome rather than on the action itself, *guiding* is more likely to be translated into verbs that are not directive SAVs, including *specify*, *provide (for)*, *formulate*, *mention*, *define* and *set (forth)*. Therefore, simply relating one translation equivalent in English to a Chinese directive SAV would create ambiguous or unintended interpretations. If an English translation equivalent of a directive SAV predominantly occurs when there is a certain valency sentence pattern in the Chinese text, this translation equivalent should be considered suitable for this specific pattern, rather than for all the other valency sentence patterns which the Chinese SAV can occur within.

Furthermore, the linguistic differences between the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs observed in the comparable corpus seem more prominent than their commonalities. The examined English and Chinese directive SAVs seem to have distinctive valency complements within and across the languages. The contrastive analysis based on the comparable corpus data shows that similar English and Chinese directive SAVs in fact display appreciable differences in their usage in legislative texts. Thus, translators should be aware that the translation of directive SAVs between English and Chinese is not a simple verb replacement, but may also necessitate syntactic changes.

For example, compared to Chinese directive SAVs, English directive SAVs are much more extensively used in the passive voice and a relatively high proportion of these passive structures are agentless, which is considered a common feature of the syntax of legal English (Cao, 2007). One of the reasons for this study's interest in the frequency of passives has to do with changes to verb valency in translating. I argue that the frequent use of passive structures in the English translations in this study is mainly due to the problem of incomplete sentence structures in the original, particularly the lack of a subject (speaker) in the original text. As to Chinese directive SAVs in legislative texts, complements which can be inferred from the context are often omitted. As Alcaraz & Hughes (2002, p. 19) point out, "one common effect of the passive mood is to suppress the identity of the agent responsible for the performance of the act, this is often exactly the point of the construction". The agents of some Chinese directive SAVs are often omitted when they can be implied in the context or are too obvious to need stating. In English, such omissions may be partly due to emphasis or contrast, as the theme of a sentence is viewed as the priority or

privilege of the sentence in English (Alcaraz & Hughes, 2002) and will be preserved at the expense of an explicit agent. In translating directive Chinese SAVs with omitted agents, it is, in fact, easy to preserve the equivalent effect in translation by using a passive structure, thus keeping the stress on the state of affairs, the desired action or the addressee who is supposed to carry out the desired action rather than on the identity of the speaker. Translators can rely on the legal context to determine whether to faithfully retain the thematic order of the original sentence or to make alterations to achieve a similar effect as the original (Alcaraz & Hughes, 2002). This study suggests that greater naturalism can often be achieved by transposition from the active mode in a Chinese original to the passive in the English translation as long as the omission does not influence the accurate rendering of contextualized meanings. If ambiguity arises in the passive English translation, an active subject should be restored to avoid ambiguities.

Another major source of difficulty in legal translation that any translator must expect to encounter is the different syntactic structure of modifiers of noun phrases acting as nominal complements of directive SAVs. As the corpus data shows, the nominal complements of English directive SAVs are long and complex with an indeterminate number of premodifiers and postmodifiers – such as adjective and subordinate clauses – whereas the nominal complements of Chinese directive SAVs are short with all modifiers preceding the verb and marked by the particle '*de*'. To deal with nominal complements of Chinese and English directive SAVs with premodifiers in Chinese or complex postmodification in English, the translator has to consider altering the word order and overall structure, as retaining the format of the original comes at the risk of added ambiguity and incomprehensibility.

The different linguistic features of the English and Chinese directive SAVs require the translator to take account of local cultural factors such as the expectations of readers, to provide translations that are accurate, natural and acceptable in the target legal language. It will be of great help to substantially improve the readability of translated legal texts without sacrificing their accuracy if the translator gives readers more consideration to ensure the accurate rending of information.

Moreover, this study's contrastive analyses of the valency sentence patterns of Chinese directive SAVs and their translation equivalents in the parallel corpus reveal that the majority of the examined Chinese directive SAVs in the parallel corpus were translated as verbs and that these verbs predominantly occurred within the same valency patterns in English as in the Chinese original, which suggests that an English verb that requires no or minimal syntactic change is more likely to be chosen as a translation equivalent than a potential translation of the verb that requires greater syntactic change. This research finding suggests that whether or not a preferred translation equivalents has equivalent complementation patterns accounts, to a large extent, for the choice of this translation equivalent. Nevertheless, although syntactic patterns can be used as an indication of the semantic meaning of SAVs, and when the same syntactic patterns are used for the synonymous and near-synonymous directive SAVs it may express equivalent meanings and legal force, the translator should avoid automatically following the syntactic patterns of the directive SAVs in the original. As the corpus evidence shows, in the majority of cases, a translation which incorporates the same complements as the original Chinese directive SAVs is natural, unambiguous and precise; however, in some cases, carrying the construction of the Chinese directive SAVs across into English results in a translation which is not idiomatic and appears foreign to the target audience, which damages the understanding. As translation is intercultural communication rather than a word-for-word rendering, translators should have a cultural and communicative consideration of the two languages and pay attention to the demands of the register of legislative texts and their comprehensibility.

This study also found some occurrences of less literal renderings of Chinese SAVs, using nominalized structures or adjective constructions instead of verbs. This is considered as a translation strategy commonly adopted by translators and might be motivated by a translator's syntactic and stylistic considerations. The transposition from a directive SAV to a noun or an adjective in translation is acceptable when both the verb and the noun or adjective possess the same semantic weight or equivalent effect. Otherwise, transposition may cause alterations to the processes by which human thoughts are expressed and change the illocutionary intention of the speaker. This can lead to an inaccurate rendering of the meaning and illocutionary force produced by the original Chinese SAV, and even affect the reproduction of the basic functions of statutory

provisions, such as identifying and empowering rights and duties (Maley, 1994), guiding human behavior and regulating human relations (Danet, 1985; Cao, 2007). Therefore, the practice of using adjectival or nominalized structures as translation equivalents of directive SAVs in legislative texts should be used with caution.

Moreover, some examined directive SAVs are left untranslated in the parallel corpora. The leaving-out of these SAVs in translation may lead to inaccurate meaning and loss of intended legal effect, and even hinder the cross-cultural communication of the function of legislative texts. Due to the performative nature of the directive SAVs, they are normally used to obtain legal effects and legal consequences in legislative texts. In general, the directive SAVs used in legislative texts to perform illocutionary acts have perlocutionary effects associated with their meaning. Where there is no translation of an SAV, the translator may have been unsure of the scope and function of directive SAVs in legislative texts, or failed to notice or to adequately deal with contextual information. Translators dealing with such directive SAVs should choose appropriate equivalents on the basis of pragmatic expectations as to the meaning and function of the original text, and should strive to produce on the target reader an effect equivalent to that produced on the source text reader by the directive SAVs in the source text (Alcaraz & Hughes, 2002). To decide on the closest possible linguistic equivalent in the target language, translators need to consider not only the meanings of the directive SAV, but the set of possible circumstances in which the designated SAV is used. Concerning the performative use of directive SAVs, it is suggested that achieving dynamic equivalence remains the translator's first choice. When a directive SAV has no exact equivalent, a synonym that has the same illocutionary purpose and can produce a similar illocutionary force is an obvious candidate for selection and further description can be added for greater accuracy.

8.3 Summary

In summary, the corpus-linguistic approach to the study of translation (in this research, between English and Chinese directive SAVs), is based on a collection of a large number of naturally occurring texts written independently of the study. The results of this method of study are more objective and reliable than conclusions based on introspection. Turning specifically to this method

as it relates to studying the translation of directive SAVs in legal discourses, corpus-based contrastive research can present enormous detail about the similarities and differences in directive SAVs' meanings and about the usage of synonymous and near-synonymous directive SAVs in legislative texts, as well as illuminating multiple perspectives on human interaction as reflected in directive SAVs in various languages.

Extending from this study, further cross-linguistic comparisons with emphasis on the syntactic properties of directive SAVs and preferred translation equivalents for SAVs in different syntactic environments might be highly helpful for translators. If translators are made aware, through this study and those that follow it, of the distinctions between semantically similar directive SAVs within and across languages and use them correctly in translating, opportunities for misinterpretation will be greatly reduced.

9 CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

This research has explored the semantic meanings and syntactic properties of a group of semantically similar English directive SAVs (*order*, *command*, *tell (to)*, *direct*, *instruct*, *demand*, *require* and *prescribe*) and their possible Chinese translation equivalents (*mingling*, *xialing*, *zhiling*, *haoling*, *chiling*, *heling*, *leling*, *zecheng*, *zeling*, *yaoqiu* and *guiding*) by adopting an exhaustive, corpus-based contrastive approach. This concluding chapter will revisit the research questions and summarize the key findings presented in Chapters 5 to 7, in Section 9.2. The limitations of the study are discussed in Section 9.3 and, finally, some further research topics are proposed in Section 9.4.

9.2 Major findings

This study was theoretically motivated by, firstly, Wierzbicka's (1987) claim that there is a stable correlation between the semantic and syntactic properties of SAVs, and secondly, the lack of studies on the translation and usage of English and Chinese directive SAVs, particularly their usage in the legal genre. With the experience of completing *A Semantic Dictionary: English Speech Act Verbs*, Wierzbicka (1987, p. 24) confidently asserts that "strong evidence for semantic formulae comes from syntax, and that syntactic properties of speech act verbs provide astonishingly reliable clues to their semantic structure". Once the validity of such correlations between syntax and meaning has been established, in combination with other evidence, syntactic properties can provide an inestimable heuristic value in the justification of semantic formulae (Apresjan, 1967; 1970).

This study established such correlations on the basis of empirical corpus analysis. It chose to specifically investigate such correlations in relation to English and Chinese directive SAVs in the context of legislative texts out of the dual realizations that there is an increasing need to understand how English and Chinese directive SAVs are used in legislative texts, but that English and Chinese directive SAVs have rarely been studied in literature, and particularly not in the legal genre. The

aim, therefore, of this investigation into the frequencies of occurrences and the valency sentence patterns of a group of selected English and Chinese directive SAVs in naturally occurring English and Chinese legislative texts has been to disclose the distinctions between English and Chinese directive SAVs in legislative discourse and to facilitate the recognition of cultural disparities reflected at the lexical level, with a view to improving legal translation.

The methodology employed to investigate the research questions centred upon meaning comparison and differentiation among these SAVs within and across languages, and much of the analysis has therefore been devoted to the comparison and contrast of their semantic components and valency sentence patterns by employing a sememe model (breaking SAVs down into semantic components) and by categorizing the verbs' complements by word-class. An in-depth analysis of their usage in the legal genre has been made on the basis of corpus data analysis by incorporating lexical contrastive linguistics into the corpus-linguistic framework in order to establish the links between semantic and syntactic properties of the English and Chinese directive SAVs within and across the two languages.

9.2.1 Findings of the contrastive componential analysis and valency analysis

To recapitulate, the componential analysis in this study (Chapter 5) has provided a description of lexical similarities and differences of English and Chinese directive SAVs with respect to their meanings, including both linguistic properties (e.g. conceptual meanings, connotative meanings, pragmatic meanings, collocational meanings and stylistic meanings), and extralinguistic properties (e.g. institutional facts and social conventions). The contrastive analysis has revealed that the semantic meanings of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs only partially overlap and that it is rarely the case that semantically similar directive SAVs in the two languages match up neatly. There is a great degree of differentiation between the synonymous English and Chinese directive SAVs within and across the two languages in terms of their semantic components, including the speaker's intention, the illocutionary force, the power relationship between the speaker and the addressee, the speaker's emotional state, the speaker's confidence in the outcome, the degree of intensity, emotive components, and the stress of the speech act. For example, some

English directive SAVs seem to be more general than their translation equivalents in Chinese, such as *order* and its translation equivalents *zeling*, *heling*, *chilling* and *zecheng*. Only in certain specific contexts can these semantically related SAVs be substituted for each other without causing significant changes in the conceptual content and stylistic features of an utterance.

Next, the comparison of the identified valency sentence patterns of the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs in Chapter 5 has shown that similar English and Chinese directive SAVs display appreciable similarities in the valency sentence patterns within which they can occur. The corpus data revealed that semantically similar English directive SAVs always share one or more valency sentence patterns, such as *order*, *demand*, *tell (to)*, *direct*, *instruct* and *require*, sharing the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>. Particularly, *order*, *command*, *instruct* and *direct* share three valency sentence patterns <N_A+V+that-clause>, <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF> and <N_A+V+N_P+Quote>. Notably, the four verbs *command*, *tell (to)*, *instruct* and *direct* share their valency sentence patterns with *order*. However, remarkable differences were also found in the identified valency sentence patterns of English directive SAVs. As shown in Table 5-11, *demand* has the most versatile patterns with ten different identified valency sentence patterns, followed by *require* and *order* with eight and seven valency sentence patterns, respectively. *Tell (to)* with only one identified valency sentence pattern has the fewest number of patterns.

Similarly, the eleven semantically similar Chinese directive SAVs showed dramatic differences in the number of identified patterns with which they can occur. As can be seen from Table 5-25, with nine identified valency sentence patterns, *xialing* can occur in the most varied syntactic environment, followed by *haoling* and *yaoqiu*, each with eight identified valency sentence patterns. Six different valency sentence patterns were identified for *heling*, *zeling* and *guiding*, and four patterns for both *mingling* and *leling*. *Zhiling* and *chilling* have less versatile syntactic environment each with two sentence patterns. *Zecheng*, with one valency sentence pattern has the fewest number of patterns. Moreover, the different realization forms of the complements of the related Chinese SAVs reflect differences in their semantic structures. For example, *mingling*, *chiling*, *haoling*, *zecheng*, *leling* and *yaoqiu*, which are always directed at a particular addressee, usually take a direct personal object, while *xialing*, *heling*, *zhiling*, *zeling* and *guiding*, which focus more on the possible action, are more likely to occur with a verb phrase or clause. These findings suggest that the valency

sentence patterns that a verb can occur within are closely related to their semantic meaning. In addition, many of the Chinese directive SAVs share a considerable number of patterns. With the exception of *guiding*, the other ten Chinese directive SAVs share the trivalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, which is viewed as a typical pattern for expressing directive meaning in Chinese. The same valency sentence patterns of these closely related Chinese directive SAVs reflect the similarity in their semantic meaning and extralinguistic features.

The comparison of the identified valency sentence patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs shows a great degree of differentiation between the two languages. First, a verbal structure construction as a complement of Chinese directive SAVs is composed of a verb in its base form followed by a complementary element. The verbal structure can either directly follow the Chinese directive SAV to function as its object, as in <N_A+V+VP>, or follow a noun that acts as the direct object of the Chinese SAVs, as in <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, without any proposition preceding the verbal structure. However, in English, two different realization forms of the verbal structure as a sentence complement are possible for directive SAVs: an infinitive or a non-finite *ing*-clause. The most typical verbal structure as a complement of English directive SAVs is *to*-infinitive following a noun that acts as the direct object of SAVs, as in <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>.

Second, the constructions of prepositional complements for English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts are largely different. The five English directive SAVs *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct* and *tell (to)* only occur with the preposition '*to*', whereas their Chinese translation equivalents *xialing*, *haoling*, *heling*, *leling* and *zeling* can occur with a larger number of prepositions including '*you*', '*xiang*' or '*dui*'.

Third, the English directive SAVs *order*, *command*, *direct*, *instruct*, *demand* and *require* can occur with clauses introduced by 'that', while only the Chinese directive SAV *xialing* can occur with a verbal clause, but no subordinator or relative pronoun is required to introduce the clause. Furthermore, another obvious difference between English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts concerns passive structures. *Order* and *direct* can occur with the trivalent pattern with an object complement and a passive *to*-infinitive clause <N_A+V+N_P+to passive-INF>. By contrast,

there is no equivalent structure for their Chinese counterparts, because unlike English directive SAVs, Chinese directive SAVs are non-inflected and have only one grammatical form: the base form of the verb. When Chinese verbs express passive sense, there is a clear subjective tendency by using the active voice and making use of function words and word order to express temporal or logical sequences including the relationship between the subject, the object and the verb.

In the analysis chapters, in addition to the qualitative analysis of the semantic meanings and syntactic patterns of directive SAVs in English and Chinese, a quantitative analysis of the usage of directive SAVs in English and Chinese legislative texts was made.

9.2.2 Findings of the contrastive analysis based on comparable corpus data

The contrastive analysis of the valency sentence patterns of English directive SAVs and their Chinese counterparts in the comparable corpus in Chapter 6 also reveals that synonymous English and Chinese SAVs share certain valency sentence patterns, which reflect their shared semantic structures. For example, the Chinese directive SAVs *zeling*, *zecheng* and *zhiling*, which are possible translation equivalents of *direct, order* and *instruct*, have the same preferred syntactic pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> as *direct, order* and *instruct* in the corpus. *Demand* occurred with two valency sentence patterns, <V+ N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, in the corpus, and notably, it shared these two patterns with its synonym *require* and its translation equivalent *yaoqiu*, which reflects a similarity in their meaning. The comparison of the valency sentence patterns of *prescribe* and its Chinese translation equivalent *guiding* in the comparable corpus displays a similarity in their frequent use and preferred valency sentence pattern, <N_A+V+N_P>, in the legal genre. These findings confirm the claim that synonymous SAVs are likely to occur with shared syntactic patterns which reflect their shared semantic components.

Nevertheless, the linguistic differences between the examined English and Chinese directive SAVs observed in the comparable corpus seem more prominent than their commonalities. First, Chapter 6's contrastive quantitative analysis, based on the comparable corpus data, shows dramatic differences in the frequency of use of semantically similar English and Chinese directive SAVs in

legislative texts. Specifically, the high rate of use of some directive SAVs (namely *guiding*, *require*, *prescribe*, *zeling*, *yaoqiu*, *direct* and *order*), the infrequent use of *demand*, *zecheng*, *instruct*, *zhiling*, *xialing*, and the non-occurrence of *command*, *tell (to)*, *mingling*, *haoling*, *chiling*, *heling* and *leling* are not a coincidence. Such differences in frequencies of use and distributions of different valency sentence patterns of the English and Chinese directive SAVs under investigation are attributed to a complex set of factors including context variation, word sense variation, discourse functions of legislative text and cultural disparities.

Second, the comparison of the valency sentence patterns of *order*, *demand*, *direct*, *instruct*, *require* and *prescribe* observed in the comparable corpus shows that these synonymous and near-synonymous verbs have different preferred valency sentence patterns and different usage within shared patterns which distinguish them from each other in legislative context. The verbs *require*, *direct* and *order* occurred in a more varied syntactic environment in the corpus than *demand*, *instruct* and *prescribe*. Their different preferred patterns in the corpus distinguish them from each other. For example, *prescribe* only occurred with a noun phrase in the object position in the active clause, as in the pattern <N_A+V+N_P>. *Direct* shows a strong preference for the trivalent pattern with a noun phrase plus a *to*-infinitive clause, <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>, in the legislative texts. All six English SAVs can occur with the divalent pattern with a *that*-clause in the object position, but *demand*, *instruct* and *prescribe* are not found to be directly followed by a *that*-clause in the corpus, while *order*, *direct* and *require* frequently are. The comparable corpus has no occurrence of passive structures for *instruct*, and has a very low frequency of the passive patterns for *order* and *direct*, with passives accounting for small percentages of their occurrences. This suggests that patterns in passive structures are not commonly used for *order*, *direct* and *instruct* in legislative texts. This contrasts with the verbs *demand*, *require* and *prescribe*. The dominant use of passive voice for *demand*, *require* and *prescribe* in the corpus is the direct result of the way in which passive structures are used to accomplish linguistic goals in language use and might be a stylistic choice to give an impression of objectivity and distance to the readers. The different preferences of various passive patterns for *require*, *demand* and *prescribe* are probably due to three reasons: (1) semantically it is unnecessary to mention the agent of an action when the agent is not important, or can be inferred from the context, or is unknown; (2) syntactically, the passives are needed for

coherence, cohesion, focus and balance; and (3) stylistically, passives are conventional in legislation.

Third, the syntactic environments of the Chinese directive SAVs *guiding*, *zeling*, *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling* and *xialing* observed in the comparable corpus also varied greatly. In the corpus, no one pattern occurred with all these verbs. *Zeling* with ten observed valency patterns has the most versatile syntactic environment, and *xialing*, *zecheng* and *zhiling* have the fewest number of patterns. Clearly, the eight Chinese directive SAVs seem to have different preferred valency sentence patterns in the corpus which distinguish them from each other. The corpus data shows that only one realization form of the object is possible for the verb *xialing*: a verbal phrase in the divalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+VP>, which distinguishes it from its synonyms. *Zhiling* and *zecheng* occurred only with the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P +VP> in the corpus, and *yaoqiu* also shows strong preference for the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP>. *Guiding* occurred predominantly with divalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P>, with 73% of all occurrences. For *zeling*, the divalent valency pattern with a prepositional complement in subject position and a verbal phrase in object position <you N+V+VP> is notably more common with 59% of all occurrences. *Zeling* and *guiding* occurred frequently with prepositional complements '*you*' preceding them, whereas the corpus had no occurrences of *xialing*, *zhiling*, *zecheng* and *yaoqiu* with prepositional complements '*you*'. The prepositional complements '*xiang*' and '*bei*' are specific to *yaoqiu*.

Furthermore, the contrastive analysis of English directive SAVs and their closest Chinese counterparts, based on the comparable corpus data, reveals considerable differences in their usage in legislative texts. The corpus data shows that *order* and *direct* had a low rate of use of verbal complements, while their Chinese translation equivalent *zeling* occurred predominantly in patterns containing a verbal phrase in the object position, including <you N_A+V+VP> with 59% of all occurrences, <V+VP> with 22%, and <N_A+V+VP> with 7%, adding up to 88% of all occurrences. The other translation equivalents of *order* and *direct*, such as *xialing*, *zhiling*, *zecheng*, *zhihui* and *zhidao*, rarely occurred with verbal complements. *Zeling* and *xialing* both took a verbal phrase as their direct object, as in the pattern <N_A+V+VP> in the corpus, while none of the English SAVs

direct, *order* and *instruct* occurred with a verbal phrase directly following them in the English legislative texts.

The contrastive analysis of the valency sentence patterns of *demand* and *require*, and their Chinese translation equivalent *yaoqiu* in the corpus shows that *require* and *yaoqiu* occurred with much more versatile syntactic structures than *demand*. All occurrences of *yaoqiu* are found to be active structures, while *require* and *demand* show a strong preference for passive structures, especially *require*. Moreover, the comparable corpus data indicates inequality in the proportions of passive structures with or without the presence of the agent for *require* and *demand*, with the proportion of agentless passive structures of *demand* being significantly higher than *require*.

Differences in the observed valency sentence patterns for *prescribe* and its Chinese translation equivalent *guiding* are also obvious in the corpus. First, *guiding* occurred with more varied syntactic patterns than *prescribe*, including <V+N>, <N_A+V+N_P>, <N+you N+V>, and <N_A+V+V-clause>. Second, *guiding* only occurred in active structures, especially in the structure '*N guiding de N*', which accounts for as high as 70% of all occurrences in the corpus. In contrast, *prescribe* occurred predominantly in the passive structures, with passives adding up to 86% of all occurrences of *prescribe* obtained in the comparable corpus. In particular, *prescribe* is most frequently used in the past participle directly following a noun phrase with the agent being omitted.

In terms of the preference for passive structures, the verbs *demand*, *prescribe* and *require* show strong preference for passive structures. In contrast, all Chinese directive SAVs are used in active structures in the Chinese legislative texts. Although Chinese verbs are not marked with voice categories, grammatical relationship and passive meaning are always conveyed by means of lexical and syntactic devices, including word order, function word (such as '*bei*' and '*you*'), and shared understanding of the context. One prominent syntactic feature of the directive Chinese SAVs is that they are frequently used in active structures with the subject complement being omitted when semantically it is unnecessary to mention the agent of the action, and when the agent is not important, or can be inferred from the context, or is unknown. However, by contrast, no English directive SAVs were found to occur in patterns with the subject complement being omitted in an

active clause. The subject or the agent of the English directive SAVs was frequently omitted only in passive structures. These findings indicate that Chinese and English apply different syntactic structures to de-focus the agent of the action. All these lexical and syntactic difference between English and Chinese directive SAVs pose difficulties for the translation of directive SAVs between the two languages.

9.2.3 Findings of the contrastive analysis based on parallel corpus data

The detailed analysis of the Chinese directive SAVs and their English translation based on the parallel corpus in Chapter 7 reveals that semantically closely related Chinese directive SAVs display appreciable differences in their preferred translation equivalents in English, and the examined Chinese directive SAVs in different valency sentence patterns have different preferred translation equivalents.

The corpus has shown that there is an overlap between the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu*, *zecheng*, *zhiling*, *xialing*, *zeling* and *guiding* observed in the corpus and those found in bilingual dictionaries, and the translation equivalents with high frequencies of occurrence in the corpus are all listed in the dictionaries. However, the corpus data shows considerably more translation possibilities in the corpus than in bilingual dictionaries, particularly for *yaoqiu* and *guiding*. Eleven verbs were identified as the translation equivalents of *yaoqiu* in the parallel corpus: *require*, *demand*, *claim*, *ask for*, *ask to*, *order*, *invite*, *suggest*, *call for*, *wish* and *intend*. Altogether, 35 different English verbs or verbal phrases were identified as the possible translation equivalents of *guiding*, including *specify*, *prescribe*, *provide (for)*, *stipulate*, *formulate*, *require*, *set forth*, *mention*, *define*, *refer to*, *designate*, *determine*, *fix*, *set*, *vest*, *lay down*, *establish*, *govern*, *list*, *enact*, *unify*, *include* and *agree*.

The research findings clearly show that the Chinese directive SAVs are more likely to be translated into verbs with the same or similar valency sentence patterns as the Chinese SAVs, particularly when the verbs' preferred translation equivalents can take valency sentence structures equivalent to those in the original. The corpus data shows that 89% of all occurrences of *yaoqiu* are translated

as verbs in the parallel corpus, and, in particular, 60% were translated as verbs with the same or similar valency sentence patterns as *yaoqiu*. When *yaoqiu* occurs with verbal complements directly following it, it is more likely to be translated into a verb with different valency sentence patterns. Similarly, 82% of the occurrences of *guiding* were translated as a verb with same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as the pattern in the original, and a much lower proportion (2%) were translated as a verb with different valency sentence patterns.

In the parallel corpus, *zecheng* occurred in only one type of valency sentence pattern, <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, which indicates the speaker's stress on the addressee's action. They were all translated into English directive SAVs *order* and *instruct*, both occurring in equivalent valency sentence patterns <N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>. *Zhiling* also occurred only in the trivalent sentence pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, with four occurrences in total. Two (50%) instances of *zhiling* were translated into *instruct*, one (25%) was translated into *direct*, and one (25%) was translated into *order*. All these three translation equivalents occurred with equivalent valency sentence patterns (<N_A+V+N_P+to-INF>) as *zhiling* in the original.

For the verb *zeling*, as high as 95% of its occurrences in the corpus were translated as a verb. It was most frequently translated into *order*, with 743 occurrences, accounting for 85% of all occurrences. Around 9% of the occurrences of *zeling* have the translation equivalent *instruct*. In the parallel corpus, *zeling* occurred predominantly with an object complement plus a verbal complement, and the translation equivalents of *zeling* also occurred mainly with an object complement plus a verbal complement. Notably, 83% of the translation equivalents of *zeling* occurred in the same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as *zeling* in the original. Similarly, around 82% of all occurrences of *guiding* in the parallel corpus were translated into verbs with the same or equivalent valency sentence patterns as *guiding* in the original, particularly when *guiding* occurred in divalent sentence patterns <N_A+V+N_P>, <N_A+V+clause> and <N_P+you N_A+V>.

These research findings mean that the equivalence of valency sentence patterns is more frequent than non-equivalence of valency sentence patterns where the examined Chinese directive SAVs are translated as verbs, and also that equivalence of valency sentence pattern is considerably more

frequent with verb translations than with non-verb translation equivalents. It seems that a potential SAV translation equivalent that requires no or minimal syntactic change is more likely to be chosen. Given this, the complete syntactic congruence between the Chinese directive SAVs and their translation equivalents are not surprising, considering that most of their preferred English translation equivalents are semantically similar to them and have the same or equivalent syntactic structures.

Furthermore, according to the corpus data, the Chinese directive SAVs *yaoqiu*, *zeling* and *guiding* occurred in more than one valency sentence pattern in the corpus and each verb shows a preference for different translation equivalents when they are used in different valency patterns. Based on the contrastive analysis of the valency sentence patterns of the Chinese directive SAVs and their translation equivalents, it can be stated that the semantic meanings expressed by Chinese directive SAVs with different syntactic patterns are slightly different, which seems to have an impact on the choice of preferred translation equivalent for each valency sentence pattern of these verbs.

For example, the empirical data indicates that *yaoqiu* in the patterns <V+N_P> and <N_A+V+N_P> shows a preference for the translation equivalent *claim*, mostly in the active, while *yaoqiu* in the patterns <V+VP> and <V+N_P+VP> is more likely to be translated into *require*, in both the active and passive. When *yaoqiu* occurs in the divalent pattern <N_A+V+VP>, the English directive SAVs *request*, *demand* and *require* are almost equally likely to be chosen as the translation equivalents. *Yaoqiu* in the trivalent pattern <N_A+V+N_P+VP> shows a strong preference for *require*, while *yaoqiu* in the trivalent pattern with the prepositional complement '*xiang*' <N_A+xiang N+V+VP> has two preferred translation equivalents, *demand* and *claim*. Different from *yaoqiu*, *zeling* shows a slight difference in its preferred translation equivalents when it occurred in various valency sentence patterns. *Zeling* in most patterns shows a strong preference for the translation equivalent *order*. When *zeling* occurs in the patterns <V+N_P+VP>, <N_A+V+N_P+VP>, <you N_A+V+N_P+VP> and <dui N_P+you N_A+V+VP>, it is also likely to be translated into *instruct*. Similar to *yaoqiu*, *guiding* in different valency sentence patterns also shows a dramatic difference in its preferred translation equivalents. When *guiding* occurs in a relative clause with only one complement (an object complement), *prescribe* is most likely to be the preferred translation equivalent. When

guiding occurs within the patterns <N_A+V+N_P> and <N_A+V+clause>, *specify* is most likely to be chosen as the translation equivalent. When *guiding* occurs in the divalent pattern with prepositional complement '*you*', the chosen translation equivalent will most likely be *formulate*.

The result reveals the impact of the valency sentence patterns of Chinese directive SAVs in the original on the choice of valency sentence patterns of their English translation equivalents, and more importantly, it highlights overall a correspondence mechanism between semantic structures and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs. The thesis argues that the syntactic frames of the Chinese directive SAVs in the original reflect their semantic meaning and can therefore be indicative of different semantic aspects as well as an indicator for the most likely, or best, translation equivalent. Obviously, the valency complements of directive SAVs are an important part of context, which, to a large extent, limit the sense of directive SAVs and determine the choice of the translation equivalents as well as the syntactic patterns of those translation equivalents. This finding supports the claim, made by Wierzbicka (1987, see above), that there is a correlation between the semantic and syntactic properties of directive SAVs. Therefore, this study has argued that syntactic patterns can be effectively used as tools to identify verbs' nuanced meanings, which enables translators to solve lexical ambiguity.

The study's comparison of the meaning and actual usage of Chinese and English directive SAVs in legislative texts provides some pointers on legal translation between the two languages. This research has found that differences in the linguistic and socio-cultural characteristics of semantically similar English and Chinese directive SAVs may pose difficulties for the translation of directive SAVs between the two languages. In addition, translators' lack of a basic understanding of the scope and function of directive SAVs in the legal genre and failure to notice or to adequately deal with contextual information are also factors potentially triggering misinterpretion of directive SAVs between English and Chinese; these are some factors making this kind of translation especially difficult.

The study has also found that the directive SAVs used in legislative texts to perform illocutionary acts usually have perlocutionary effects associated with their meaning. Determining translation

equivalents for directive SAVs is semantically complex as the range of potential and ostensibly similar translation equivalents may differ in their illocutionary and perlocutionary dimensions and thus produce different legal effects. Translators dealing with such directive SAVs should choose appropriate equivalents on the basis of pragmatic expectations as to the meaning and function of the original text, and should strive to achieve dynamic equivalence that produces on the target reader an equivalent illocutionary and/or perlocutionary effect to that produced by the directive SAVs in the source text on the source text readers. To decide on the closest possible linguistic equivalent in the target language, translators need to pay special attention to the immediate verbal environment and complements of directive SAVs.

Thus, the comprehensive qualitative and quantitative analysis in this study could benefit translators, as it provides a powerful weapon to distinguish the interlingual similarities and differences between the examined set of Chinese and English directive SAVs at the syntactic level and fully grasp the distinct usage of the semantically similar directive SAVs between English and Chinese in legislative texts.

9.3 Limitations

Clearly, the methodology of corpus linguistics in this study offers invaluable tools for detecting and understanding linguistic phenomena. However, the application of the corpus linguistics framework in this study has its limitations. One of the limitations of this study is the limited size of the corpora established for the investigation of the use of English and Chinese directive SAVs. Since the identification and categorization of the valency sentence patterns for each examined SAV was conducted manually, the data collection and corpus-based analysis was arduous and time-consuming, and consequently the size of the corpora that could be handled in this study had to be somewhat limited, containing a total of only 2,839,350 tokens. The frequencies of occurrence and the valency sentence patterns of the examined directive SAVs might therefore differ from those using even larger corpora. The relatively small size of the corpora in this study is not sufficient to make strongly generalizable conclusions about all SAVs in Chinese-English translation, although it is large enough to make statistically significant, valid analyses. Thus, the intention of this study

is not to generalize the findings, but rather to offer useful insights by finding indications of what are likely to be systematic correlations between the semantic and syntactic properties of English and Chinese directive SAVs within and across languages, and to enrich the scholarship by providing empirical detail on the similarity and differences in these particular English and Chinese SAVs' semantic meanings, syntactic patterns and usage in legislative texts.

While the formation of syntactic features may be limited by the scale of corpora used and their being limited to texts in the legal genre, this was an important limitation to control against variability in the use of language with would likely arise from studying directive SAVs in multiple genres at once.

Moreover, the two monolingual sub-corpora established to build the bilingual comparable corpus in this study were not exactly the same in the size and number of texts. As I have discussed in Section 4.4.2.1, the corpus of original Chinese legislative texts was made up of 127 shorter Chinese texts, while the corpus of original English legislative texts was made up of 58 longer English texts. The decision to use a different number and size of texts in English and Chinese was made in order to include all Chinese texts on the same subject matter as the English texts, and in order to establish the cross-linguistic congruence. This limitation was further mitigated by having equivalent numbers of words in each of these corpora.

In addition, the categorization of the valency sentence patterns of SAVs involved a degree of intuition of the researcher. The labelling of the valency complement types and the interpretation of the usage of the various patterns of a verb in a corpus are also, to a certain degree, subjective. This is a limitation not unique to this study and, following other studies, it is mitigated here by transparent reporting of the categorizations made and reasons for them.

9.4 Further research

The present study has explored a new path for conducting an in-depth contrastive analysis of the semantic meaning and syntactic patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs by employing a corpus-based approach. This descriptive and comparative study gives fresh insight contributing to

bilingual lexical studies and translation practice between English and Chinese. Contrastive lexical studies between English and Chinese can benefit from this corpus-based approach in that the subtle differences in the usage and meaning of English and Chinese directive SAVs can be captured and, consequently, synonymous and near-synonymous English and Chinese directive SAVs can be distinguished within and across the languages. The research findings suggest several starting points for future investigations. First, corpus linguistic research on a larger corpus is called for to discover more about the meanings and usage of English and Chinese directive SAVs and to further support the claims made in this study. It is possible that a larger-scale corpus will more comprehensively establish the linking relationship between the lexical semantic features and the valency sentence patterns of English and Chinese directive SAVs. Only after additional, reliable research findings are achieved on the basis of analyses of large English-Chinese comparable and parallel corpora can strong claims about the correlation between semantic structures and syntactic formula of SAVs be made.

Second, this study focuses on a small group of semantically similar English and Chinese directive SAVs, yet in fact there are many other directive SAVs in the two languages that also reflect cultural discrepancies. I hope that future contrastive lexical studies on other English and Chinese directive SAVs can be conducted to explore in depth about the conceptualizations of human behaviours, human communication and human interactions reflected in the lexicon of directive SAVs.

Third, another valuable area for future investigation would be contrastive studies on English and Chinese directive SAVs in a general corpus, which could capture the differences in their usage in genre-specific discourses and general language within and across the two languages. A more complete picture of the meaning and usage of English and Chinese directive SAVs – not only in legal discourses – can be drawn after extensive research on English and Chinese directive SAVs in other domains.

The corpus-based approach to contrastive lexical semantics between English and Chinese should serve as a viable tool for future researchers to investigate other dimensions of the usage and

meaning of SAVs, which will enable us to get closer to linguistic truths in the field of contrastive lexical studies between English and Chinese.

REFERENCES

Aarts, J. (1998). Introduction. In S. Johansson & S. Oksefjell (Eds.), *Corpora and Cross-linguistic Research* (pp. ix-xiv). Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Aijmer, K., & Altenberg, B. (1996). Introduction. In K. Aijmer, B. Altenberg & M. Johansson (Eds.), *Languages in contrast: Papers from a symposium on text-based cross-linguistic studies* (pp. 11-16). Lund: Lund University Press.

Alcaraz, E. (1996). Translation and pragmatics. In R. Álvarez & C. Á. Vidal (Eds.), *Translation, power, subversion* (pp. 99-115). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Alcaraz, E., & Hughes, B. (2002). *Legal translation explained*. Manchester/Northampton: St. Jerome Publishing.

Allerton, D. J. (1982). *Valency and the English verb*. London: Academic Press.

Allerton, D. J. (2006). Valency Grammar. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, *14*(09), 301-314.

Alston, W. P. (1963). Meaning and use. In G. H. R. Parkinson (Eds.), *The theory of meaning* (pp. 141-165). London: OUP.

Altenberg, B., & Granger, S. (2002). Recent trends in cross-linguistic lexical studies. In B. Altenberg & S. Granger (Eds.), *Lexis in contrast: Corpus-based approaches* (pp. 3-48). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Altick, R. D. (1956). *Preface to critical reading*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Alvarez, E. L. (2005). Performative speech act verbs in present day English. *Interlinguistica*, *16*(2), 685-702.

Austin, J. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Austin, J. L. (1975). *How to do things with words*. In J. O. Urmson & M. Sbisà (Eds.), Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bach, K., & Harnish, R. M. (1979). *Linguistics communication and speech acts*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Baker, C. L. (1995). *English syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Baker, M. (1993). Corpus linguistics and translation studies: Implications and applications. In M. Baker, G. Francis & E. Tognini-Bonelli (Eds.), *Text and technology. In honour of John Sinclair* (pp. 233-252). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Baker, M. (1995). Corpora in translation studies: An overview and some suggestions for future research. *Target*, *7*(2), 223-243.

Baker, M. (2011). *In other words: a coursebook on translation*. Abingdon/New York: Routledge.

Balfarhi, K. (2013). The componential analysis of literary meaning. *Colombian Applied Linguistics Journal*, *15*(2), 288-301.

Ballmer, Th., & Brennenstuhl, W. (1981). Speech act classification: A study in the lexical analysis of English speech activity verbs. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.

Bednarek, M. (2008). Semantic preference and semantic prosody re-examined. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, *4*(2), 119-139.

Bellos, D. (2011). *Is that a fish in your ear? Translation and the meaning of everything.* London: Penguin Books.

Bhatia, V. K., Candlin, C. N., & Engberg, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Legal discourse across cultures and systems*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Reppen, R. (1998). *Corpus linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blake, B. J. (2001). *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boas, H. U. (1980a). Some remarks on case grammars as bases for contrastive studies. In J. Fisiak (Eds.), *Theoretical issues in contrastive linguistics* (pp. 72-82). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Boas, H. U. (1980b). Lexical entries for verbs in a contrastive Gennan-English lexicon. In J. Fisiak (Eds.), *Theoretical issues in contrastive linguistics* (pp. 309-324). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bowers, F. (1989). *The linguistic aspects of legislative expression*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brunette, L. (2013). Machine translation and the working methods of translators. *Special issue of JosTrans*, *2013*(19), 2–7.

Cambridge Dictionary (English-Chinese). Retrieved from http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-chinese-traditional

Cao, D. (2007). *Translating law*. UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Carter, R. (1998). *Vocabulary: Applied linguistic perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Chang, Y. (2008). *Han, E yuyan xingwei dongci yuyi duibi yanjiu [A contrastive analysis of the semantic meaning of Chinese and Russian speech act verbs]* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Heilongjiang University.

Chen, C. L. (2003). *Xiandai hanyu yuyi pingmian wenti yanjiu [Semantic Dimension Problems of Modern Chinese]*. Shanghai, China: Xuelin Publishing House.

Chen, L. P. (2007). *Hanyu jiaojixing shiwei dongci de jufa kaocha* [A syntactic study of Chinese expressive speech act verbs]. *Journal of Yunnan Dehong Normal College*, *4*(16), 91-94.

Chen, X., Xu, C., & Li, W. (2011). Extracting valency patterns of word classes from syntactic complex networks. In K. Gerdes, E. Hajicova, & L. Wanner (Eds.), *Proceedings of Depling 2011, Barcelona* (pp. 165-172). Retrieved from http://depling.org/proceedingsDepling2011/papers/chenXuLi.pdf

Chen, Z., Grove, K., & Hale, J. Structural expectations in Chinese relative clause comprehension. In J. Choi *et al*. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 29th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* (pp. 29-37). Comerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Projects.

Cheung, C. C. H. (2016). *Parts of speech in Mandarin, the state of the art*. Singopore: Springer.

Coehn, P. (2009). *Statistical machine translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, L. J. (1964). Do illocutionary forces exist? *Philosophical Quarterly*, *14*(55), 118-137.

Collins, D. E. (2009). Indirectness in legal speech acts: An argument against the out of ritual hypothesis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *41*, 427–439.

Comrie, B. (1993). Argument structure. In J. Jacobs, A. von Stechow, W. Sternefeld & T. Vennemann (Eds.), *Syntax. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*. *Halbband 1* (pp. 905–914). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Conklin, H. (1955). Hanuno´o color categories. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, *11*(4), 339–344.

Conther, H. (1978). Valence in categorical syntax. In W. Abraham (Eds.), *Valence, semantic case, and grammatical relations* (pp. 127-156). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cornell, A. (2005). Book review. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *37*(7), 1109-1115.

Coseriu, E. (1964). Pour une se´mantique diachronique structurale. *Travaux de Linguistique et de Litte´rature*, *2*(1), 139–186.

Coseriu, E. (1967). Lexikalische solidarita¨ten. *Poetica*, *1*, 293–303.

Cristofaro, S. (2003). *Subordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crystal, D., & Davy, D. (1969). *Investigating English style*. London: Longman.

Cui, Y. Z., Hu, Q. N., Pan, H. H., & Hu, J. H. (2006). *Zero anaphora resolution in Chinese discourse. Lecture Notes in Computer Science, 3878*, 245-248.

Danet, B. (1980). Language in the legal process. *Law and Society*, *14*(3), 447-563.

Danet, B. (1985). Legal discourse. In T. A. van Dijk (Eds.), *Handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 237-291). London: Adacemic Press.

David, R., & Brierley, J. (1985). *Major legal systems in the world today*. London: Stevens.

De Groot, A. W. (1949). *Structerele syntaxis*. The Hague: Servire.

Diani, G. (2001). Modality and speech acts in English acts of parliament. In M. Gotti & M. Dossena (Eds.), *Modality in specialized discourse* (pp. 175-191). Bern: Peter Lang.

Dickerson, L. J. H. (1974). *Internal and external patterning of phonological variability in the speech of Japanese learners of English: towards a theory of second-language acquisition*. Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Microfilms International.

Dixon, R. M. W., & Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2000). *Changing valency case studiesin transitivity*. Cambridge/New York/ Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Dirven, R., & Verspoor, M. H. (1998). *Cognitive exploration of language and linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishers.

Downing, A., & Locke, P. (2006). *English grammar*. London/New York: Routledge.

Du, S. S. (2004). *Tell (gaosu) lei dongci yuyi jiegou renzhi fenxi [The cognitive analysis of the semantic structure of the verb tell group]* (Unpublished master's thesis). Jiangxi Normal University.

Gu, R. G. (1994). John Searle de yanyu xingwei lilun: pingpan yu jiejian [John Searle's speech act theory: Evaluation and borrowing. *Foreign Linguistics*, *3*, 10-16.

Eckman, F. R. (1977). Markedness and the contrastive analysis hypothesis. *Language Learning*, *27*(2), 315-330.

Èech, R., Pajas, P., & Maèutek, J. (2010). Full valency: Verb valency without distinguishing complements and adjuncts. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*, *17*(4), 291-302.

Egan, T., & Rawoens, G. (2014). English amid(st) and among(st): a contrastive approach based on Norwegian and Swedish translation. *Language and Computers*, *78*(1), 207-228.

Emons, R. (1974). *Valenzen englischer pradikatsverben*. Tubingen: Niemeyer.

Engel, U. (1977). *Syntax der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. Berlin: Schmidt.

Engel, U. (1988). *Deutsche Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Julius Groos.

Fan, L. R. (1991). *Hanzi suiji [Chinese shorthand]*. Beijing: Electronics Industry Press.

Fa, X. (1996). Dongci de peijia yu dongci de shengcheng [The valency of verbs and the generation of sentences]. Chinese Studies, (1).

Fantinuoli, C., & Zanettin, C. (2014). Creating and using multilingual corpora in translation studies. In C. Fantinuoli & C. Zanettin (Eds.), *New directions in corpus-based translation studies* (pp. 1-10). Berlin: Language Science Press.

Faulhaber, S. (2011). *Verb valency patterns – A challenge for semantics-based* accounts. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Fillmore, Ch. J. (1968). The case for the case. In E. Bach & R. T. Harms (Eds.), *Universals in Linguistic Theory* (pp. 1-88). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Fillmore, J. (2003). *Form and meaning in language: paters on semantic roles*. Leland, CA: CSLI Publications.

Firbas, J. (1992). *Functional sentence perspective in written and spoken communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fischer, K. (1997) *German-English verb valency – A contrastive analysis*. Tübingen: Narr.

Foskett, C. (1971). Valency theory and contrastive linguistics. In H.W. Viethen, W. D. Bald & K. Sprengel (Eds.), *Grammatik und interdisziplinäre bereiche der linguistik. Akten des 1I. Lingmstischen kolloquiums Aachen 1976* (pp. 175-181). Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Francis, G., Hunston, S., & Manning, E. (Eds.). (1996). Collins COBUILD grammar patterns 1: verbs. London: HarperCollins.

Frege, G. (1950). *Foundations of arithmetic*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fries, C. C. (1945). *Teaching and learning English as a foreign language*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Gao, S., Zhang, H., & Liu, H. (2014). Synergetic properties of Chinese verb valency. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*, *21* (1), 1-21.

Geeraerts, D. (2006). *Componential analysis*. In K. Brown (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, *2*, 709-713.

Geng, W. (2015). The research on the corpus-based machine translation system. *Applied Machanics and Materials*, *713-715*, 1982-1985.

Gianninoto, M. (2014). The development of Chinese grammars and the classification of the parts of speech. *Language & History*, *57*(2), 137-148.

Giorgio, F. A. (2007). Chinese: A language of compound words? In F. Montermini, G. Boyé & N. Hathout. *Selected proceedings of the 5th Décembrettes: Morphology in Toulouse* (pp. 79-90). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Goddard, C. (2002). Directive speech acts in Malay (Bahasa Melayu): An ethnopragmatic perspective. *Cahiers de praxematique*, *38*, 113-143.

Goddard, C. (2003). Semantic primes within and across languages. In D. Willems, B. Defrancq, T. Colleman & D. Noël (Eds.), *Contrastive analysis in language: Identifying linguistic units of comparison*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goodenough, W. (1956). Componential analysis and the study of meaning. *Language*, *32*(1), 195–216.

Götz-Votteler, K. (2007). Describing semantic valency. In T. Herbst & K. Götz-Votteler (Eds.), *Valency: theoretical, descriptive and cognitive issues* (pp. 37-49). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Granger, S. (2003). The corpus approach: A common way forward for contrastive linguistics and translation studies? In S. Granger, J. Lerot & S. Petch-Tyson, *Corpus-based approaches to contrastive linguistics and translation studies* (pp. 17-29), Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Greimas, A. (1966). *Sémantique structurale*. Paris: Larousse.

Grice, H. P. (1957). Meaning. *Philosophical Review*, *66*(3), 377-388.

Grice, H. P. (1969). Utterer's meaning and intention. *The Philosophical Review*, *78*(2), 147-177.

Gross, H. (1998). *Einführung in die Germanistische Linguistik*. München: Iudicium.

Guan, S. J. (2000). A comparison of Sino-American thinking patterns and the function of Chinese characters in the difference, Americans to dichotomy. In D. R. Heisey (Eds.), *Chinese perspectives*

in rhetoric and communication (pp. 25-44). Stamford: Ablex Publishing Corporation Stamford, Connecticut.

Guo, R. (1995). Shujieshi de peijia jiegou yu chengfen de zhenghe [Valency structure of verb-resultative complement and integration of constituents]. In Y. Sheng & D. O. Zheng (Eds.), *Xiandai hanyu peijia yufa yanjiu: diyi ji [Volume 1 of Studies on valent grammar in modern Chinese]* (pp. 168-191). Beijing: Beking University Press.

Hall, E. (1991). Wusheng de yuyan [The slient language]. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Hodder Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2014). *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar*. Oxon/New York: Routledge.

Han, Z. L. (2013). *Xinhua Cidian [Xinhua Chinese Dictionary] (3rd ed.)*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Handian [Chinese Dictionary]. Retrieved from http://www.zdic.net/c/c/25/59307.htm

Harras, G., & Winkler, E. (1994). A model for describing speech act verbs: The semantic base of a polyfunctional dictionary. In W. Martin *el al*. (Eds.), *Euralex 1994*: *Proceedings of the 6th Euralex Conference* (pp. 440-448). Amsterdam.

Haspelmath, M., & Müller-Bardey, T. (2001). Valence change. In C. Lehmann *et al*. (Eds.), *Ein internationals Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung* (pp. 17-44). Amsterdam: Benjamins. Retrieved from http://wwwstaff.eva.mpg.de/~haspelmt/2005val.pdf.

Hayakawa, S. I. (1969). *Modern guide to synonyms and related words*. Darmstadt: Verlag Darmstadter Blatter.

Helbig, G. (Eds.). (1971). *Beiträge zur Valenztheorie*. The Hague: Mouton.

Helbig, G., & Schenkel, W. (1975) *Wörterbuch zur valenz und distribution deutscher verben* leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut.

Herbst, T. (1987). A proposal for a valency dictionary of English. In R. F. Ilson (Eds.), *A spectrum of lexicography* (pp. 29-47). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Herbst, T. (1988). A valency model for nouns in English. *Journal of Linguistics*, *24*(2), 265-301.

Herbst, T. (2007). Valency complements or valency patterns. In T. Herbst & K. Gotz-Votteler (Eds.), *Trend in linguistic, valency - Theoretical, descriptive and cognitive issues*. New York/ Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Herbst, T., David, H., Ian, F. R., & Dieter, G. (2004). A valency dictionary of English: A corpus-based anaysis of the complementation patterns of English verbs, nouns and adjectives. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heringer, H. (1973). *Theorie der deutschen Syntax*. Munich: Hueber.

Heringer, H. (1993). Basic ideas and the classical model. In: J. Jacobs, A. von Stechow, W. Sternefeld & T. Vennemann (Eds.), *Syntax. Eein internationals handbuch zeitgenössischer forschung. Halbband 1* (pp. 293–316). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Hiltunen, R. (1997). An aspect of 'ESP' in a historical perspective: The case of Anglo-Saxon law. In T. Nevalainen & L. Kahlas-Tarkka (Eds.), *To explain the present: Studies in the changing English language in honour of Matti Rissanen* (pp. 51–62). Mémoires de la société Néo-philologiqué à Helsingfors 52. Helsinki: Société néophilologique.

Hinkel, E. (1997). Indirectness in L1 and L2 academic writing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *27*(3), 361-386.

Hjelmslev, L. (1953). *Prolegomena to Theory of Language*. Translated by F. J. Whitfield. Baltimore: Waverly Press.

Hoey, M. (2004). Lexical priming and the properties of text. In A. Partington, J. Morley & L. Harrman (Eds.), *Corpora and* discourse (pp. 385-412). Bern: Peter Lang.

Hoey, M. (2005). *Lexical priming: A new theory of words and language*. London: Routledge.

Holmes, J. S. (1988). The name and nature of translation studies. In J. S. Holmes (Eds.), *Translated! Paters on literary translation and translation studies* (pp. 67-80). Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.

Holmes, O. W. (1881). *The common law*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Holtgraves, T. M., & Ashley, A. (2001). *Comprehending illocutionary force*. *Memory & Cognition*, *29*, 83–90.

Hsiao, F., & Gibson, E. (2003). Processing relative clauses in Chinese. *Cognition: International Journal of Cognitive Science*, *90*(1), 3-27.

Hu, K. N. (2009). *Translating passive structures from English to Chinese: A legal corpus analysis of The Hong Kong ordinances* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of Queensland, Australia.

Hu, Z. M. (2009). Etymology and sememe analysis in translation. *Babel*, *55*(2), 153-164.

Hunston, S., & Francis, G. (1998). Verbs observed: a corpus-driven pedagogic grammar. *Applied Linguistics*, *19*(1), 45-72.

Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hunston, S., & Francis, G. (1998). Verbs observed: A corpus-driven pedagogic grammar. *Applied Linguistics*, *19*(1), 45-72.

Hunston, S., & Francis, G. (2000). *Pattern grammar: A corpus-driven approach to the lexical grammar of English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iverson, S. P. (2004). The art of translation. *World Trade*, *17*(1), 44.

Ivir, V. (1987). Functionalism in contrastive analysis and translation studies. In R. Dirven & V. Fried (Eds.), *Functionalism in linguistics* (pp. 471-481). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Jackson, H. (2005). *Good grammar for students*. London: Sage.

James, C. (1980). *Contrastive analysis*. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

Jiang, X. H. (2003). Yishi xingtai dui fanyi de yingxiang: chanfa yu xinsikao [Impact of ideology on translation: New reflections]. *Chinese Translators Journal*, *6*(6), 24-29.

Jin, N. N. (2009.) *Yanyu dongci de yinyuxing pingjia yanjiu [A study of speech verbs and metaphoric evaluation]*. Guangzhou: Sun Yat-Sen University Press.

Jin, P., & He, A. (2013). Influences of thinking differences between English and Chinese people on English writing. *Higher Education of Social Science*, *5*(1), 6-10.

Johansson, S. (2007). *Seeing through multilingual corpora: On the use of corpora in contrastive studies*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Johansson, S., & Oksefjell, S. (1998). *Corpora and cross-linguistic research*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kempson, M. (1977). *Semantic theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kennedy, G. (1998). *An introduction to corpus linguistics*. London: Longman.

King, N. (2004). Using templates in the thematic analysis of texts. In C. Cassell & G. Symon (Eds.), *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research* (pp. 256–270). London: Sage.

Kit, C. (1998). Ba and bei as multi-valence preposition in Chinese: An LFG perspective. In B. K. T'sou (Eds.), *Studia Linguistica Sinica* (pp. 497-522). Hong Kong: Language.

Kohnen, T. (2008).Tracing directives through text and time: Towards a methodology of corpus-based diachronic speech act analysis. In I. Taavitsainen & A. H. Jucker (Eds.), *Speech acts in the history of English* (pp. 295-310). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kryk-Kastovsky, B. (2009). Speech acts in early modern English court trials. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *41*, 440–457.

Kulikov, L. (2009). Valency-changing categories in Indo-Aryan and Indo-European: A diachronic typological portrait of vedic sanskrit. In A. Saxena & A. Viberg (Eds.), *Multilingualism. Proceedings of the 23rd Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics* (pp. 75–92). Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

Kurzon, D. (1999). A speech act approach to 'dead letter' legislation. In H. V. Schooten (Eds.), *Semiotics and legislation, jurisprudential, institutional and sociological perspectives* (pp. 123-137). Liverpool, UK: Deborah Charles.

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Langacker, R. W. (1987). *Foundations of cognitive grammar*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Langacker, R. W. (1999). Assessing the cognitive linguistic enterprise. In T. Janssen & G. Redeker (Eds.), *Cognitive linguistics, foundations, scope and methodology* (pp. 13-59). Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laviosa, S. (1998). The corpus-based approach: A new paradigm in translation studies. *Meta*, *43* (4), 474-479.

Leech, G. (1974). *Semantics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Leech, G. N. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Lehrer, A. (1974). *Lexical fields and semantic structure*. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Levin, B. (1993). *English verb classes and alternations: A preliminary investigation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levinson, S. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lexicographical Department of the Chinese Academy of Social Science. (2011). *Xinhua Zidian [Xinhua Chinese Character Dictionary] (11th edition).* Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Lexicographical Department of the Chinese Academy of Social Science. (2012). *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian [The contemporary Chinese dictionary]* (6th ed.). Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Lin, X. G. (1999). *Cihui yuyi he jisuan yuyan xue [Computational linguistics]*. Beijing: Language and Culture Press.

Liu, B. (1991). *Contrastive studies of Chinese and English and translation.* Nanchang: Jiangxi Education Press.

Liu, D. W. (2004). Yixiang dongci, yanshuo dongci yu pianzhang de shiyu [Illocutionary verbs, verbs of saying and textual horizons]. *Rhetoric Studies, 6,* 1-7.

Liu, H. (2011). Quantitative properties of English verb valency. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics, 18*(3), 207–233.

Liu, L. L. (2011). Quanshuolei dongci jufa yuyi texing de dongtai yanjiu [The dynamic research on syntactic and semantic characteristics of persuasive speech act verbs). *Russian Language and Literature Studies, 33*(3). 34-40.

Liu, L. X. (1996). Yingyu yanyu xingwei dongci he yuyi bianxi [A semantic analysis of English speech act verbs]. *Journal of Hebei Normal University (Social Science Edition). S1,* 116-118.

Liu, N. (2016). The structures of Chinese long and short bei passives revisited. *Language and Linguistics*. *17*(6), 857-889.

Liu, S. (2010). An experimental study of the classification and recognition of Chinese speech acts. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(6), 1801-1817.

Lounsbury, F. (1956). A semantic analysis of Pawnee kinship usage. *Language, 32,* 158–194.

Lü, S. X. (1979). *Hanyu yufa fenxi wenti [Issues on Chinese grammatical analyses]*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Lü, S. X. (1988). *Zhongguo wenfa yaolue [Essentials of Chinese grammar]*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Lü, S. X. *et al*. (2002). *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian (Han Ying Shuangyu Ben) [The contemporary Chinese dictionary] (Chinese-English edition)*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Lu, X., & Chen, G. M. (2011). Language change and value orientations in Chinese culture. *China Media Research, 7*(3), 56-63.

Lu, X., & Simons, H. W. (2006). Transitional rhetoric of Chinese communist party leaders in the post-Mao reform period: Dilemmas and strategies. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *92*, 262-286.

Luraghi, S. (2012). Basic valency orientation and the middle voice in Hittite. *Studies in Language*. *36*(1), 1-32.

Mahlberg, M. (2005). *English general nouns: A corpus theoretical approach*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Maley, Y. (1994). The language of the law. In J. Gibbons (Eds.), *Language and the law* (pp. 11-50). New York: Longman.

Markham, P. (1985), Contrastive snalysis and the future of second language education. *System*, *13*(1), 25-29.

Marwa, E. (2016). A Cross-cultural study of some selected Arabic proverbs and their English translation equivalents: A contrastive approach. *International Journal of Comparative Literature and Translation Studies*, *4*(2), 51-57.

Masuko, M. (2003). Valence change and the function of intransitive verbs in English and Japanese. In K. M. Jaszczolt & K. Turner (Eds.). *Meaning through language contrast* (pp. 261–275). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Matthews, P. (2007a). The scope of valency in grammar. In T. Herbst & K. Gotz-Votteler (Eds.), *Valency: Theoretical, descriptive and cognitive issue* (pp. 3–14). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Matthews, P. (2007b). *Syntactic relations – A critical survey.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Matthews, P. H. (1981). *Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McEnery, T., & Wilson, A. (2001). *Corpus linguistics*: *An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McEnery, T., & Xiao, R. (2002). Domains, text types, aspect marking and English-Chinese translation. *Language in Contrast*, *2*(2), 211-229.

McEnery, T., Xiao, R., & Tono, Y. (2006). *Corpus-based language studies: An advanced resource book*. London: Routledge.

Mindt, I. (2007). The valency of experiential and evaluative adjectives. In T. Herbst & K. Götz-Votteler (Eds.), *Trend in linguistic, valency - Theoretical, descriptive and cognitive issues* (pp. 101-116). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Modern Chinese Dictionary (5th ed.). (2007). Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Moessner, L. (2010). Directive speech acts: A cross-generic diachronic study. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics, 11*(2), 219-249.

Monville-Burston, M. (1993). Les verba dicendi dans la presse d'information. *Langue Francaise, 98*(1), 48-66.

Morrison, R. (2008). *A grammar of the Chinese language.* Zhengzhou, China: Henan publishing house.

Motsch, W. (1980). Some remarks on explicit performatives, indirect speech acts, locutionary meaning and truth-value. In J. R. Searle, F. Kiefer & M. Bierwisch (Eds.), *Speech act theory and pragmatics* (pp. 205-220). Holland: Reidel Publishing Company.

Nakau, M. (1994). *Principles of cognitive semantics*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.

Newmark, P. (1997). Translation and ideology. In K. Klaudy & J. Kohn (Eds.), *Transferre necesse est* (pp. 56-61). Budapest: Scholastica.

Ni, S. F., & Sin, K. K. (2011). A matrix of legislative speech acts for Chinese and British statutes. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*(1), 375–384.

Nichols, J., Peterson, D., & Barnes, J. (2004). Transitivizing and detransitivising languages. *Linguistic Typology*, *8*(2), 149–211.

Nida, E. A. (1975a). *Componential Analysis of meaning: An introduction to semantic structures*. The Hague: Mouton

Nida, E. A. (1975b). *Language structure and translation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

O'Halloran, K. A. (2007). Critical discourse analysis and the corpus-informed interpretation of metaphor at the register level. *Applied Linguistics*, *28*(1), 139-158.

Olivecrona, K. (1971). Law as fact. In S. London & O. Sons (Eds.), *Concise law dictionary*. London: Sweet & Maxwell.

Ou, Y. M. (2010). Cong renzhi jiaodu kan yanyu xingwei dongci de xide [Studies of speech act verbs from cognitive perspective]. *Journal of Guizhou University for Ethnic Minorities (Philosophy and Social Sciences), 2010*(3), 47-49.

Oulton, N. R. R. (1999). *So you really want to learn Latin, Book 1*. Tenterden: Galore Park Publishing.

Oxford Chinese Dictionary. (2010). GB: Oxford University Press.

Oxford Dictionary Online. Retrieved from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com

Packard, J. L. (2000). *The morphology of Chinese. A linguistic and cognitive approach.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Panther, K. U., & Thomburg, L. (1998). A cognitive approach to inferencing in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 30*(6), 755-769.

Partridge, J. G. (1982). *Semantic, pragmatic and syntactic correlates: An analysis of performative verbs based on English data*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Peterwagner, R. (2005). *What is the matter with communicative competence?* Wien: Lit Verlag.

Pérez Hernández, L., & Ruiz de Mendoza, F. J. (2002). Grounding, semantic motivation, and conceptual interaction in indirect directive speech acts. *Journal of Pragmatics, 34*(3), 259-284.

Pottier, B. (1964). Vers une sémantique moderne. *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature, 2*(1), 107–137.

Pottier, B. (1965). La définition sémantique dans les dictionnaires. *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature, 3*(1), 33-39.

Prator, C. (1967). *Hierarchy of difficulty*. (Unpublished Classroom Lecture). University of California at Los Angeles.

Pustejovsky, J. (1995). *The generative lexicon*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Qi, Y. L. (2008). Hanying yanyu xingwei dongci chongfu xianxian duibi [A comparative analysis of repetition of English and Chinese speech act verbs]. *Journal of Xinxiang University (Social Science Edition), 22*(6), 85-86.

Qin, K. W., Kong, F., Li, P. F., & Zhu, Q. M. (2011). Chinese zero anaphor detection: Rule-based approach. In Y. Wang & T. Li (Eds.), *Advances in Intelligent and Soft Computing, 123*, 403-407.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1972). *A grammar of contemporary English*. London: Longman Group.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Radek, Č., Petr, P., & Ján, M. (2010). Full valency. Verb valency without distinguishing complements and adjuncts. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*, *17*(4), 291-302.

Recanati, F. (1980). Some remarks on explicit performatives, indirect speech acts, locutionary meaning and truth-value. In J. R. Searle, F. Kiefer & M. Bierwisch (Eds.), *Speech act theory and pragmatics* (pp. 205-220). Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Reichardt, R. (2013). *Valency sentence patterns and meaning interpretation: Case study of the verb consider* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Birmingham, UK.

Reinelt, R. (1996). *Speech act verbs and the development of Chinese characters*. Retrieved from http://sealang.net/sala/archives/pdf8/reinelt1996speech.pdf

Roland, D., Dick, F., & Elman, J. L. (2007). Frequency of basic English grammatical structures: A corpus analysis. *Journal of Memory and Language*, *57*(3), 348-379.

Ross, C., & Ma, J. S. (2006). *Mordern mandarin Chinese grammar: A practical guide*. London/New York: Routledge.

Sapir, E. (1933). Language. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, *9*, 155-169.

Šarčević, S. (2000). *New approach to legal translation*. The Hague/Boston: Kluwer Law International.

Schumacher, H. (Eds.). (1976). *Untersuchungen zur Verbvalenz*. Tübingen: Narr.

Schweikert, W. (2005). *The order of prepositional phrases in the structure of the clause*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J. R. (1975a). A taxonomy of illocutionary acts. In K. Gunderson (Eds.), *Language, mind and knowledge* (pp. 344-369). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Searle, J. R. (1975b). Indirect speech act. In P. Cole & L. J. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics* (pp. 59-82). New York: Academic Press.

Searle, J. R. (1979). *Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J. R. (2002). *Consciousness and language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J., Kiefer, F., & Bierwisch, M. (Eds.). (1980). *Speech act theory and pragmatics*. Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Shinzato, R. (2004). Some observations concerning mental verbs and speech act verbs. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *36*, 861-882.

Shen, Y. (1998). Dongci de tiyuan jiegou yu dongci duanyu de yange tonggou fenxi [Thematic structures of verbs and proper structural analysis]. In S. L. Yuan (Eds.), *Xiandai hanyu peijia yufa yanjiu: di'er ji [Volume 2 of Studies on valent grammar in modern Chinese]*. Beijing: Beking University Press.

Sinclair, J. M. (1985). On the integration of linguistic description. In T. A.Van Dijk (Eds.), *Handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 13-28). London: Academic Press.

Sinclair, J. M. (1991). *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sinclair, J. M. (1998). The lexical item. In E. Weigand (Eds.), *Contrastive lexical semantics* (pp. 1-24). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Sinclair, J. M. (2004). *Trust the text: Language, corpus and discourse*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Sinclair, J., & Teubert, W. (2004). Interview with John Sinclair, conducted by Wolfgang Teubert. In R. Krishnamurthy, J. Sinclair, S. Jones & R. Daley (Eds.), *English collocation studies: The OSTI report* (pp. xvii-xxix). London: Continuum.

Skewis, M. (2002). Mitigated directness in Honglou Meng: Directive speech acts and politeness in eighteenth century Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *35*, 161-189.

Souza Filho, D. M. (1984). *Language and action, A reassessment of speech act theory*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Stewart, D. (2010). *Semantic prosody: A critical evaluation*. New York/London: Routledge.

Stockwell, R., Bowen, J. D., & Martin, J. W. (1965). *The grammatical structures of English and Spanish*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Strawson, P. F. (1964). Intention and convention in speech-acts. *Philosophical Review*, *73*(4), 439-460.

Stubbs, M. (2009). The search for units of meaning: Sinclair on empirical semantics. *Applied Linguictics*, *30*, 115-137.

Sui, G. L., Sun, L. W., & Li, X. Q. (2004). A corpus-based study on frequency features of speech act verbs in nautical English. *Journal of Dalian Maritime University* (Social Science Edition), *3*(2), 70-73.

Sun, S. F. (2001). E yu qishi yanyu xingwei yanjiu [Researches on Russian directive speech act]. *Heilongjiang: Heilongjiang People's Press*, *1*, 215-233.

Taavitsainen, I., & Jucker, A. H. (2007). Speech act verbs and speech acts in the history of English. In S. Fitzmaurice & I. Taavitsainen (Eds.), *Methods in historical pragmatics* (pp.107-138). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Tao, Y., & Jiang, Z. (2013). On semantic category of speech-act verbs in modern Chinese - With a case qing (please). In P. Liu & Q. Su (Eds.), *Chinese Lexical Semantics*, *8229*, 108-116.

Tesnière, L. (1953). *Esquisse d'une syntaxe structurale*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Tesnière, L. (1966). *Éléments de syntaxe structurale*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Tesnière, L. (1980). *Grundzűge der strukturalen syntax* (German translation by Engel, U.) Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Tetley, W. (2000). Mixed Jurisdictions: Common law vs civil law (codified and uncodified). *Louisana Law Review*, *60*, 677-738.

Teubert, W. (2005). My version of corpus linguistics. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, *10*(1), 1-13.

Teubert, W. (2010). *Meaning, discourse and society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Teubert, W., & Čermáková, A. (2004). Directions in corpus linguistics. In M. A. K. Halliday, W. Teubert, C. Yallop & A. Cermáková (Eds.), *Lexicography and corpus linguistics: An introduction* (pp. 113-165). London/New York: Continuum.

Teubert, W., & Čermáková, A. (2007). *Corpus linguistics: A short introduction*. London: Continuum.

The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary. (2005). The Dictionary Department, Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Beijing: Commercial Press.

The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary [Chinese-English Edition]. (2002). The Dictionary Department, Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Thompson, S. A. (1987). The passive in English: A discourse perspective. In R. Channon & L. Shockey (Eds.), *Honor of Ilse Lehiste/Ilse Lehiste Puhendusteos* (pp. 497–511). Dordrecht: Foris.

Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2001). *Corpus linguistics at work*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Traugott, E. C., & Dasher, R. (1987). On the historical relation between mental and speech act verbs in English and Japanese. In G. R. Anna *et al*. (Eds.), Papers from the Seventh International Conference on Historical Linguistics (pp. 561–57). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Trosborg, A. (1991). An analysis of legal speech acts in English Contract Law. *Hermes, Journal of Linguistics, 6*, 65-88.

Trosborg, A. (1995). Statutes and contracts: An analysis of legal speech acts in the English language of the law. *Journal of Pragmatics, 23*(1), 31-53.

Valkonen, P. (2008). Showing a little promise: Identifying and retrieving explicit illocutionary acts in a corpus of written prose. In A. H. Jucker & T. Irma (Eds.), *Speech acts in the history of English* (pp. 247-272). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Vanderveken, D. (1980). Illocutionary logic and self-defeating speech acts. In J. R. Searle, F. Kiefer & M. Bierwisch (Eds.), *Speech act theory and pragmatics* (pp. 247-272). Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Vanderveken, D. (1990). *Meaning and speech acts: Volume 1, Principles of language use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vanderveken, D. (1991). *Meaning and speech acts: Volume 2. Formal semantics of success and satisfaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Varó, E. A., & Hughes, B. (2004). *Legal translation explained*. Manchester/Northampton: St. Jerome Publishing.

Vater, H. (1978). On the possibility of distinguishing between complements and adjuncts. In W. Abraham (Eds.), *Valence, semantic case, and grammatical relations* (pp. 21-46). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Venuti, L. (1995). *The translator's invisibility: A history of translation*. London/NewYork: Routledge.

Verschueren, J. (1979). The analysis of speech act verbs: theoretical preliminaries. *Journal of Pragmatics, 3*, 457-460.

Verschueren, J. (1980). *On speech act verbs*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Verschueren, J. (1985). *What people say they do with words*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Violi, P. (2001). *Meaning and experience.* Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Wang, C. J. (1994). Guanyu yanyu xingwei dongci de jige wenti [A few issues regarding speech act verbs], *Journal of Foreign Languages*, *6*, 60-64.

Wang, L. (2016). Part-of-speech studies in Chinese. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*, *23*(3), 235-255.

Wang, L. L. (1995). Dongci de biyong lunyuan yu dongci de xiang [Obligatory arguments and the direction of verbs]. In Y. Sheng & D. O. Zheng (Eds.), *Xiandai hanyu peijia yufa yanjiu: diyi ji [Volume 1 of Studies on valent grammar in modern Chinese]* (pp. 20-28). Beijing: Beking University Press.

Wang, R. (2004). Yanyulei dongci yuyi fenxi [A semantic analysis of speech act verbs]. *Russian Language Literature and Culture Studies (Linguistics Edition)*, *2*, 128-138.

Wang, R. (2010). A validity study of the word class system in modern Chinese as seen from the contemporary Chinese dictionary. *Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, *42*(5), 380-386.

Wang, S. (2014). Research on bilingual corpus based machine translation. *Applied Machanics and Materials*, *687-691*, 1683-1686.

Wang, Y. (2005). Xiandai hanyu yanyu dongci yanjiu [On the speech act verbs in Contemporary Chinese]. *Nankai Linguistics*, *1*, 76-82.

Wang, Y., & Chen, J. (2013). Differences of English and Chinese as written languages and strategies in English writing teaching. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, *3*(4), 647-652.

Wang, Y., & Li, X. (2007). Comparative study of notional passive in English and Chinese. *Sino-US English Teaching*, *4*(12), 47-53.

Wardhaugh, R. (1970). The contrastive analysis hypothesis. *TESOL Quarterly*, *4*(2), 123-130.

Wardhaugh, R. (1995). *Understanding English grammar: A linguistic approach*. Oxford/Cambridge: Blackwell.

Watson-Brown, A. (1997). The classification and arrangement of the elements of legislation, *Statute Law Review*, *18*(1), 32-45.

Waugh, L. R. (1998). Lexicon, genre and local discourse organisation: French speech act verbs and journalistic texts. *Journal of French Language Studies*, *8*(1), 45-62.

Wen, L. (1982). Ciyu zhijian de dapei guanxi [Collocations between words]. *Studies of the Chinese Language*, (1).

Wierzbicka, A. (1986). Does language reflect culture? *Language in Society*, *15*, 349-374.

Wierzbicka, A. (1987). *English speech act verbs: A semantic dictionary*. Marrickville, Australia: Academic Press Australia.

Wierzbicka, A. (1988). *The semantics of grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Wierzbicka, A. (1991). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wierzbicka, A. (1996). *Semantics: Primes and universal*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Willems, K., & Coene, A. (2005). Argumentstruktur, verbale polysemie und koerzion. In K. Fischer & I. A. Roe (Eds.), *Valency in practice, German linguistic and cultural studies* (pp. 37-63). Berlin: Lang.

Williams, G. C. (1998). Collocational networks: interlocking patterns of lexis in a corpus of plant biology research articles. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, *3*(1), 151-171.

Wu, C. (2007). FORBID yongfa yiping [Comments on the usage of forbid]. *Shanghai Journal of Translators*, *3*, 58-61.

Wu, J. F. (2008). Hanyu yanyu xingwei dongci de yuanhuayu gongneng ji julei diwei [Metafunction and syntactic status of Chinese speech act verbs]. *Journal of Ningxia University (Humanities & Social Science Edition)*, *30*(04), 1-6.

Wu, J. F. (2009). Speech act verbs' marking functions for sentence types. *Linguistic Sciences*, *8*(4), 387-395.

Wu, J. F. (2011). Cong yanyu xingwei dao wenti leixing – hanyu yanshuo dongci zhuanzhi xianxiang de renzhi fenxi [From speech acts to genre category: Cognitive analysis on the metonymy phenomenon of Chinese speech act verbs]. *Foreign Language Research*, *161*(04), 19-22.

Wu, J. F. (2011). Xianxing shiweishi "wo+yanshuo dongci"de goushi fenxi [A construction grammar approach to explicit performatives]. *Modern Foreign Languages (Quarterly)*, *34*(2), 210-217.

Wunderlich, D. (1980). Methodological remarks on speech act theory. In J. R. Searle, F. Kiefer & M. Bierwisch (Eds.), *Speech act theory and pragmatics* (pp. 291-312). Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Xiao, R., & Hu, X. (2015). *Corpus-based studies of translational Chinese in English-Chinese Translation*. Heidelberg/Shanghai: Shanghai Jiao Tong University Press and Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Xiao, S. (2010). Xiandai hanyu qishilei yanyu xingwei dongci yuyi jiegou yu tongyiciqun jiangou – jiyu “ciqun ciwei bianti” he “cihui fanchouhua” de ge’an yanjiu [Semantic structures of Chinese directive speech act verbs and construction of synonym group: A case study]. *Yangtze River Academic*, *4*, 168-173.

Xiao, S. (2013). *Research on constructing a modern Chinese speech-act verbs system based on conceptual semantics*. Beijing: Guangming Daily Publishing House.

Xue, Z. S. (2010). *Hanyu Da Zidian [Grand Dictionary of Chinese Characters]*. Chengdu/Wuhan: Sichuan Dictionary Publishing House and Chongwen Book Company.

Yan, Y. N. (2014). *Han Ying shenglueju duibi ji duiwai hanyu jiaoxue wenti [The comparison of Chinese and English ellipsis in teaching Chinese as an foreign language problem]* (Unpublished master thesis). Jiangsu: Jiangsu Normal University.

Yang, Y., Wu, F., & Zhou, X. (2015). Semantic processing persists despite anomalous syntactic category: ERP evidence from Chinese passive sentences. *PLoS One*, *10*(6). 1-15.

Ying, T. C., & Zhong, J. Y. (2005). Peijia yufa [Valency grammar]. *Foreign Language Research*, (3), 80-84.

Yip, P. C., & Don, R. (2006). *Chinese: An essential grammar*. London/New York: Routledge.

Yuan, Y. L. (1998). *Hanyu dongci de peijia yanjiu [Studies of the valence of verbs in Chinese]*. Jiangxi: Jiangxi Education Press.

Yuan, Y. L. (2010). *Hanyu peijia yufa yanjiu [Studies in Valency Grammar of Chinese]*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Zaixian Baidu Zidian [Baidu Dictionary Online]. Retrieved from http://dict.baidu.com

Zaixian Xinhua Zidian [Xinhua Dictionary Online]. Retrieved from http://zidian.wenku1.com

Zanettin, F. (2012). *Translation-driven corpora: Corpus resources for descriptive and applied translation studies*. London/New York: Routledge.

Zhang, G. X. (1998). Suoqu dongci de peijia yanjiu [Studies of the valence of demand verbs]. In S. L. Yuan (Eds.), *Xiandai hanyu peijia yufa yanjiu: di’er ji [Volume 2 of Studies on valent grammar in modern Chinese]*. Beijing: Beking University Press.

Zhang, L., & Wang, Y. Y. (2007). NP_1+Vi+NP_2 jiegouzhong dongci de peijia wenti [On some issues of the valency of verbs in the structure of NP_1+Vi+NP_2]. *Foreign Language Research*, (3), 102-106.

Zhang, R. H. (2014). *Sadness expressions in English and Chinese*. London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Zhang, Q. Q. (2007). *Chengnuo lei yanyu xingwei dongci yanjiu [A study of commissive speech act verbs]* (Unpublished master's thesis). Shanghai: East China Normal Univerisity.

Zhu, D. X. (1978). "De" zi jiegou he panduanju ["De" phrase and judgment sentence]. *Studies of Chinese Language*, (1), 23-27; (2), 104-109.

Zhu, X. X. (1989). Gerhard Helbig de jia yufa lilun ji qi shiyong yufa moshi [Gerhard Helbig's valency grammar theory and its practical grammatical pattern]. *Foreign Linguistics*, (1).

Zhong, J. Y. (2011). Lunyuan he peijia chengfen duibi yanjiu [A contrastive study of arguments and valents]. *Helongjiang Social Sciences*, (6), 98-100.

Zhong, S. M. (2004). The structure of the information transmission and semantic cognition of verb tell/inquire (gaosu/dating). *Journal of East China Institute of Technology*, *123*(14), 61-65.

Zhong, S. M. (2005). The interactive speech act verbs and their interpretation of semantic cognition. *Journal of Hangzhou Teachers College (Social Science Edition)*, *3*, 109-112.

Zhong, S. M. (2007). Cognition-based semantic analysis of speech act verbs in English passives and Chinese 'Bei' sentences. *Journal of East China Institute of Technology*, *26*(3), 272-277.

Zhong, S. M. (2007). *Han ying yanyu xingwei dongci de yuyi duibi yanjiu [A semantic comparison of Chinese and English speech act verbs]* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Nanjing Normal University.

Zhong, S. M. (2008). *Ying han yanyu xingwei dongci yuyi renzhi jiegou yanjiu [Cognition-based semantic analysis of Engish and Chinese speech act verbs]*. Hefei, China: Press of University of Science and Technology of China.

Zhong, S. M., & Li, F. (2004). Speech act verbs in VNN-construction and the interpretation of them from semantic cognition. *Journal of Jiangxi Normal University*, *37*(4), 1-15.

Zhong, S. M., & Pan, Y. Y. (2005). The cognitive meanings and semantic explanantions of order/command/tell. *Foreign Languages Research*, *5*(93), 27-31.

Zhong, S. M., & Qi, Y. L. (2010). Yinghan yanyu xingwei dongci chongdie xianxiang yuyi jiegou fenxi [Semantic structure analysis of the overlapping phenomenon of speech act verbs in both English and Chinese]. *Journal of Changchun University of Science and Technology (Social Sciences Edition)*, *23*(3), 63-65.

Zhong, S. M., & Wang, W. (2000). Yanyu xingwei dongci yuyi fenxi ji goujia [Semantic analysis and semantic structures of speech act verbs]. *Foreign Language Research*, *100*(2), 62-64.

Zhong, S. M., & Zhang, W. H. (2004). Ying han yanyu xingwei dongci fenlei jiqi yuyi renzhi jieshi [The classification of English and Chinese speech act verbs and their semantic cognitive interpretation]. *Journal of Shangrao Normal College*, *24*(05), 88-91.

Zhou, R. (2014). On the importance of exclusion method in Mandarin word class dividing. *Chinese Language Learning*, *1*, 9-19.

Zweigert, K., & Kötz, H. (1992). *An introduction to comparative law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.